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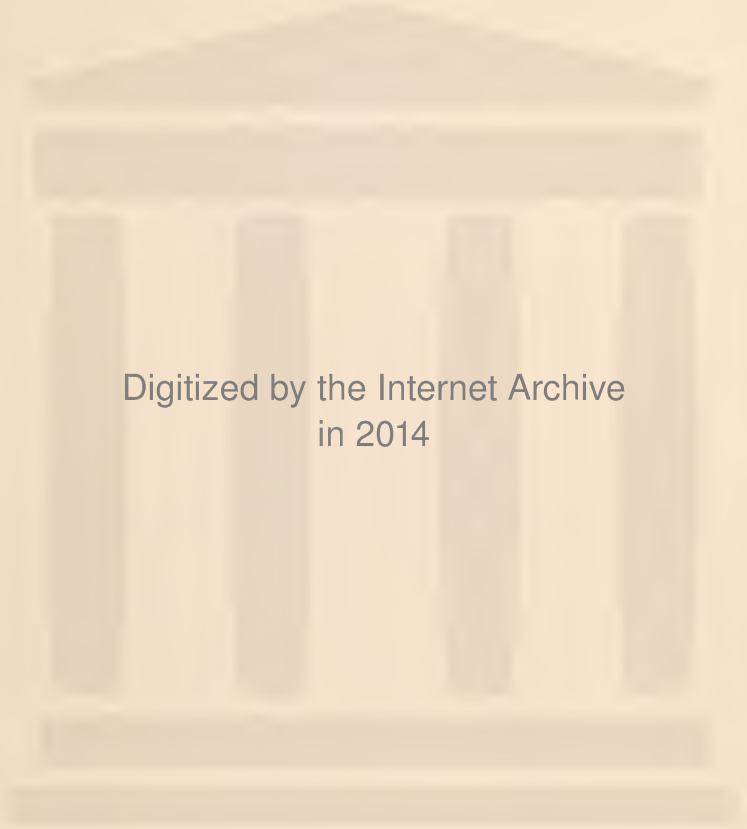
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Church and State in the Reign of Louis Philippe

1830-1848

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J. M. S. A.

New Haven, July 1915.

TO MY MOTHER

CHAPTER I

THE JULY MONARCHY

The Period of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Empire and the Bourbon Restoration offers a curious contrast, for it presents in the brief space of forty-one years the thoughts and actions of two centuries, the one the nineteenth, the other the eighteenth. The first was modern while the second, viewed in the light of present day conditions, seems almost mediaeval. It is an odd coincidence that the modern theories and ideals of the latter half of the eighteenth century were rejected in the era of Napoleon and it is only after the July Revolution that what are known as Nineteenth Century principles, those very theories on which the Revolution was based, were expounded and put to practical use. The Revolution, then, did not end with the Congress of Vienna, nor, for that matter, with the July Revolution.[1] Metternich and his satellites had deluded the French into accepting once more a Bourbon and had covered the reactionary medicine which they sought to administer to them with a coating of constitutionalism. But the Charter of 1814 had soon appeared in its true form, and became for the French a cause of disappointment in more ways than one, but principally because it had been an act of grace emanating from the monarch and granted by him to the people—"une charte octroyée." Then too it was a veiled deception, for its fourteenth article allowing the king to promulgate special laws in time of danger, had rendered null and void all the so-called liberties and political privileges granted to the people. If Louis XVIII did not perceive its weakness and consequently his own increased power, this was not to be the case with his brother the Comte d'Artois (later Charles X). That reactionary prince had at once seen clearly the possibilities of the charter as affected by the article and seized upon the occasion of the assassination of the duc d'Orleans to show his brother

[1] de Crozales Guizot Intro. 10.

the hidden usefulness of the document the allies had negotiated for him. But the old monarch's days were numbered and he made little use of his newly discovered political medium; and soon to Charles X fell the heritage of the throne, the Charter and the Fourteenth Article.

Supported by the returned émigrés, envious and eagerly seeking compensation for their confiscated property, it was not long before the new king made way with the very slight vestiges of revolutionary privilege existing in the Restoration, then upheld by the old régime, the "Congrégation de la rue du Bac" and the Holy Alliance, Charles X prepared to inaugurate a thorough policy of reaction. In the meantime, however, things had been happening under the surface to which the old king was blind, flattered as he was by his courtiers, by the unctuous praises of Metternich and the pious wishes of the Pope who sought an annulment of the hated Concordat.

Another Revolution had taken place, this time not in the streets of Paris, but in the minds of her inhabitants and of the people of the provinces. Two forces were at work, one still nascent, the other on the verge of maturity. The former was religious, reformative, Jansenist in a way, yet tinged with a certain romantic mysticism that recalls the Molinists of the seventeenth century. And as this new train of religious thought developed, the other movement, guided by men more active in the affairs of the world, seized upon it and applied its principles to politics. Thus almost simultaneously arose La Mennais and the adherents of his school of ideas as set forth at La Chesnaie, and a notable phalanx of the governmental opposition distinguished principally by a small but efficient group known as the younger "Doctrinaires" and composed of such men as de Broglië, Guizot, Thiers and Molé, the apostles of a bourgeois rule and a policy of "juste milieu" so soon to come.

The new movement for religious reform is easily accounted for. The cause was the obvious evils of the Concordat which restricted priestly activities and reduced the church to a state of entire subordination to the policy of the government. This new group, then, composed of men in accord, for the time

being, with the Doctrinaires, were to seek to gain their political privileges in an open and honest way, by a public campaign. Charles X had placed the throne upon the altar and thereby had given rise to a dangerous sort of Gallicanism somewhat similar to that of the Empire but in no way resembling the pure Gallicanism of 1682. It was to the breaking up of this alliance and what must be its fatal consequences that the new party for religious reform directed its energies. But if, in their eyes, the good name of the church was smirched by the toleration of a bastard Gallicanism it was still further endangered by the ceaseless intrigues of the "petite Église" or "parti prêtre" composed of Ultramontanes and Jesuits, both of whom regretted the passing of the ancient régime with its comfortable privileges. This internal evil too, they must combat. The first intimation the clergy of France had received of such a movement had come from the abbé de La Mennais. It was an appeal to abstain from intrigue:

"Be bishops, be priests, nothing more. What are petty quarrels of the world to you; quarrels in which men only engage for error and self-interest." "des Progres," Ch. IX.

But even as he wrote, it appeared to him that if France was to be saved, the clergy must do more than merely survey the course of events from their high station. And so farther on in the same book he calls them forth to prepare for a struggle not in the spirit of self-interest, but in that of humanity. For La Mennais was a prophet and could oftentimes forsee events with more clearness than the experienced doctrinaires. Realizing that the fall of the existing dynasty was near at hand he wished to have a party in readiness to support the church at that time. Like others, he feared that the church's time-worn policy of relying on the Bourbons might in the end draw it down to a fate such as they had suffered in 1789. He therefore sought a political theory which by its very essentials would allow of a union between the religious reformers and the better class of politicians. This, he believed, would save the church and France.

"Si le libéralisme était chrétien, je serais libéral demain." E. Forgues Corresp. de La Mennais, I, 64

He did not long search in vain. Already a moderate liberal party was in the field which was in accord with liberal catholic views and from which La Mennais had reason to hope for

much assistance. At one and the same time philosophical and political the theories of the Doctrinaires were rapidly coming into prominence. They find their origin in the experiences of some of their elders who had seen the Revolution and the Empire and who realized that the failure of these two institutions had come about through the lack of a set doctrine and a determined principle. Their basis was the correlation of three factors, a nation, a king, and a parliament. Not one, but all, were to make up the whole. The king alone cannot reign without the parliament and the nation. These three elements make possible the Law, which is the life of an institution; to borrow a simile: "Neither wood, nor air, nor flint, taken separately is the unique principle of fire; but when they are properly related and applied to a common effect, the flame bursts forth."

de Crozales, 102

Basing their views on a theory, then, this group headed by Guizot, Royer-Collard, de Broglie, and for a time, Thiers had become known as the Theorists or Doctrinaires. The *Globe* was their political mouthpiece and was directed for the most part by younger men; while de Rémusat, Duchatel and Sainte-Beuve, all of them adherents of the "Jeunesse Libérale et Romantique," were counted among its contributors.

With such views, it is not surprising to read that these Doctrinaires and the "école menaisienne" soon found mutual grounds of sympathy, and an alliance sprang up between the two—a union further cemented by their common approval of the expulsion of the Jesuits. And, while this combination would never have been powerful enough to instigate a revolution, nevertheless it was sufficiently strong to take advantage of an uprising when it did occur. This opportunity, furthermore, was not far off and as early as 1827 one of the liberals had heralded its near approach in the following terms:

E. Forgues Corresp. de La Mennais, 3 Nov. 1827

"I see that many are worrying about the Bourbons: they are not mistaken in so doing for I believe they will experience the fate of the Stuarts."[2]

[2] See also letter of d'Herbelot to Montalembert 9 Oct. 1824. "La Jeunesse Libérale: Lettres d'Herbelot." Later in another letter (E. Forges. Corresp. Lettre à M. de Champy): La Mennais foretells "une nouvelle crise dans la Révolution qui n'a fait que commencer; bien qu'elle soit aussi vieille que moi."

The years 1827-1829 witnessed the increase of political tension and the rise of a genuinely hostile feeling towards the government. This condition should have warned the foolish king of his perilous situation; but he seemed utterly oblivious to it. In 1830 the crash came; the dissolution of Parliament upon its reply to the King's address, Polignac's fatal move, the unfavourable elections, and the July Ordinances were all that were necessary to cause the more extreme malcontents to revolt and the "first emigré" to assume his familiar role and retire to England. A new era was proclaimed for France, a new monarchy, and a new freedom.

Politically the reign of Louis Philippe falls into four principle divisions; the period of Formation, lasting to the fall of the Laffitte Ministry in 1831; the Period of Parliamentary Struggle, a time of the reformation and reorganization of political parties ending in the breach between Thiers and Guizot in 1836; this, in turn was followed by the Period of Parliamentary Rivalry and Decline, and the "last Period" which we will call the Transformation and Disorganization of the July Monarchy; eight years in all, during which time the government under the sole leadership of one man, Guizot, experienced a change foreign to its origin, and then fell.

At the very outset the July Monarchy was threatened by a serious division, a sad augury for future times. The Legislative Body, now somewhat depleted by the hasty departure of certain timorous members, presented a curious aspect, composed, as it was, of a heterogeneous crowd of political idealists.[3] A common agreement between them would have been impossible. There was, for instance, a distinct line of difference between the deputies who met at the house of M. Laffitte, a prominent banker, and those who gathered at the Hotel de Ville under the control of La Fayette. The first party made up of prominent business men, favored some sort of a policy

[3] "L'opposition, comme il arrive presque toujours au lendemain des grandes commotions politiques, était le refuge ouvert à tous les débris des partis vaincus: demagogues endurcis, ardents republicains, bonapartistes impatients d'une revanche, s'y rencontrent mêlés plutôt qu'unis, car ils n'avaient réellement de commun qu'une profonde aversion pour ce qui personifiait à leurs yeux, l'ancien régime, c'est a dire, la cour, la noblesse, le clergé." Boutard II. 24-25.

of reconciliation with the family of Charles X, now at Rambouillet, while the group who had established themselves at the Hotel de Ville displayed marked tendencies toward Republicanism. But, uncertain of their strength, both hesitated to make a public declaration. Profiting by this delay another group, not definitely organized but distinguished by the adherence of a certain number of Doctrinaires, met at the house of Casimir Perier, also a prominent financier, and there, led by Guizot, Sebastiani and Villemain, they set to work upon a plan to organize a temporary form of government. The next day the *Moniteur* contained the following notice:

"The deputies at Paris have been forced to come together in order to counteract the serious danger menacing the safety of the people and of property.

"A committee has been appointed to watch over public interests in the absence of all regular organization.

M. W. Comte Gerard
Jacques Laffitte.
Comte de Laban
Mauguin
Odier
Casimir Perier
de Schonen."

Moniteur, 29 et 30 Juillet, 1830

The above list made official by a second publication the following day, is important for it shows what negotiations must have been carried out on the night preceding its publication. It comprises men of different parties, but its main significance is the fact that it marks the temporary union of the two sections of Parliament convened at the houses of M. Laffitte and Casimir Perier. Events no longer moved slowly; a regent was soon appointed.

It is difficult to ascertain just how the name of Louis Philippe was proposed. For some time he had been the hero of a certain group of politicians who were discontented and who were believed to have democratic tendencies. Then too, the Palais-Royal had long been the rendezvous for a rather heterogeneous clientele, and as such had been regarded by the family of Charles X as a by no means impossible menace to their security. There have been much talk and many anecdotes of the intrigue attending the nomination of Louis

Philippe to the French throne; in all likelihood, however, these stories are mere fiction spun for the pleasure of the historical romancers, for there is very little evidence to indicate that the suggestion of the Duke of Orleans required any complicated or insidious wire-pulling on the part of his supporters. His name was probably brought before the public in the same way that other names in other times had been proposed and accepted, at the critical moment, and by a man who understood only too well the time for a coup d'état. In this instance, the promoter seems to have been Adolphe Thiers who, by launching forth an unofficial proclamation caused Louis Philippe to be accepted as lieutenant-general of the realm. After much hesitation on his own part the Duke of Orleans was finally persuaded to come to Paris and to assume his duties. His journey to the Capitol, however, was but half the effort required and when he arrived in Paris the Duke found that his most difficult part was yet to be played; he must conciliate, and then be accepted by, the Republicans who had not been consulted. This effort would bring with it a certain amount of personal danger, but having gone so far the Regent-elect was not to be turned back, and he determined on a personal visit to La Fayette. Accordingly he set out at once for the Hotel de Ville, accompanied by the deputies whose escort he accepted only upon their urgent request. The march to the Republican headquarters was not the calm affair some would have us believe; the mob was sullen, and even before the end of the journey gave vent to a genuinely hostile demonstration, while the reception of the Orleanist couriers, sent in advance, was not the most cordial.[4] Shortly after the Duke's arrival occurred the historic scene on the balcony of the Hotel de Ville where, wrapped in the folds of the tricolour, La Fayette, "homme aux indécisions"[5] embraced the future king. The crowd cheered, flags waved, and by the weak act of an old man France was led to accept the Duke

L. Blanc, Hist., I, 166. v. Thureau Dangin, Hist. I, Ch. 1

[4] Metternich Memoirs I. 22: Account of General Belliard.

L. Blanc (Hist. I. 166) relates that when the envoy of Louis Phillipe arrived at the Hotel de Ville to warn La Fayette of the Duke's approach and to offer him terms of compromise, the old general cried out "Say not one word more of accommodation or I will call the people."

[5] As Mirabeau called him.

Proclamation du duc d'Orleans, *Moniteur*, 2 Août 1830

as her deliverer and to believe his words—"La Charte sera desormais une verité."

Thus the mob, swayed by La Fayette, played their part and played it well, for it seems that the Orleanists believed as firmly in the free selection of Louis Philippe by the people of 1830, as their over-credulous predecessors, the invaders of 1814, did in the popularity of Louis XVIII. It now remained for the remnant of deputies in Paris to make the duke a king. There were, however, other questions antecedent to the choice of a king that must first be settled, otherwise they would have the same vexing problem of constitutional prerogative to bring on another revolt. On the sixth of August all negotiations with the Bourbons were closed, and, on the motion of Berard, the amenable Chamber of Deputies declared the throne vacant. The revision of the constitution became the order of the day and this work, in turn, became the privilege of a few, who, profiting by the confusion in the Chambers, succeeded in presenting a charter conformable to their own wishes.[6] Four main revisions were made and these it is particularly our purpose to note.

The first two alterations took the form of corrections and preventions of the evils in the charter of 1814. Charles X had produced the July Ordinances by virtue of Article Fourteen which allowed him to promulgate special laws of any character whatsoever in times of danger. This clause was suppressed. The preamble of the charter was the next clause attacked. By reason of its opening statement the Constitution of 1814 has become known as "la Charte octroyée," for, by it the charter became an act of grace coming from the monarch and conferred through his generosity and royal favour, when, in reality, the Charter had been intended to serve as a contract between sovereign and subject, a contract, furthermore submitted to him by the people. So at the outset two evils of the Restoration were abolished. The two other changes are important and curious as well, for, while they concern

[6] "We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the Chamber of Deputies is pliable and does not understand its own policy. In their eyes they seem to think it is a question of mere change of cabinet and not of a revolution." d'Hérbelot to Montalembert. 6 Aôut 1830. Lèttres d'Herbélot.

the social and religious welfare of the people, they became, nevertheless, through the absurd policy of the government, two evils that had almost the same effect on the July Monarchy that the Preamble and Fourteenth Article had exercised on the Restoration. Their content and purpose were excellent but as interpreted by the government, they soon became gross evils. One of the new articles declared that "the Clergy of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, professed by the majority of Frenchmen, and the clergy of other denominations as well, shall receive salaries from the public treasury," while Article Sixty-Nine promised laws granting liberty of association, of the press and instruction.[7] These four changes imply much and foreshadow what it was hoped would be the future policy of France. In brief, they present in a clear and concise form the very raison d'être of the July Monarchy; a break with the principles of the Holy Alliance. This rupture, in turn, involved many things: within the borders of France it meant a change in the relations of Church and State (where the throne had been upon the altar, the altar would now be tolerated upon the throne) and a policy of adherence to the charter in its widest and most comprehensive sense; while for international affairs it implied an entire readjustment of foreign relations, a new alliance with England, a neutral attitude in the case of rebellious bordering provinces and yet a tacit approval of all liberal movements in countries with conditions similar to those in France. On this policy was the monarchical principle based and if he followed this consistently the founders guaranteed to Louis Philippe the continuation of his dynasty.

But it must not be supposed that the government enjoyed at once the full support of all the French. Its existence depended only upon the support of its founders, the concessions of a moderate opposition and the toleration of the extremists, many of whom leaned toward Republicanism. But the Republican's day had not yet come.[8] In the meantime there

[7] Other alterations concerned the franchise enlarging the electorate, taxation, the age of voters, deputies, etc.

[8] It is interesting to note that even the people seemed to realize that Republicanism was not yet strong enough to assert itself. One contemporary relates the following anecdote of the July Days: "Un de

remained only two parties really significant, the "parti du mouvement" and the "parti de résistance," both to a great extent bourgeois.

Upon his informal enthronement Louis Philippe found himself between two extremes and he was necessarily hampered by this situation. The king, as the choice of the revolutionary and conservative element alike, was unable to assume any definite attitude. The scene at the Hotel de Ville had imposed on him the duties and limitations of a popular monarch while from the coalition of Conservatives and a few Progressives he was expected to employ the charter only to what they judged would be a reasonable and proper extent. Louis Philippe was, then, the people's king as well as the choice of a partially aristocratic body. Guizot and de Broglie were the leaders of the "résistance"; La Fayette, Laffitte and later Thiers, the leaders of the movement. And, as the foundation of the July Monarchy was due to a compromise, so its first ministry was to serve as a mean between the two parties. It was from the "résistance" and "mouvement," then, that the king selected the members of his cabinet.[9]

As might easily be expected, such a combination was not of long duration and was a very unsatisfactory affair while it did last. The Ministry divided at once into its logical factions and a confused state of affairs prevailed which assured Europe that there was no need to anticipate any immediate danger from the revolutionary government. From this con-

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nos amis qui est allé au camp de Rambouillet avec des ouvriers, bivouquait près d'un homme du peuple. "Je sais bien" dit ce dernier, "que de ce que nous faisons il ne nous reviendra rien et que nous n'en mourons moins de faim ou à l'hopital; mais nous l'avons fait pour la patrie, pour vous, tenez," ajoutait-il, "qui est un bourgeois et qui en profiterez." d' Herbélot a Montalembert—6 Aôut 1830. Lettres d'Herbélot.

[9] Dupin de l'Eure—Minister of Justice
Comte Gerard— " " War
de Broglie— " " Public Instruction and Sects
Guizot— " " Interior
Comte Molé— " " Foreign Affairs
Baron Louis— " " Finance
Comte Sebastiani— " " Marine
Laffitte, C. Perier, Dupin (Ainé) and Beugnot—ministers without portefolios. (Lesur Annaire 1830.)

dition in the cabinet, there resulted in the political world in France a veritable anarchy—religious, intellectual and political, for no one, legislator, elector or minister, knew his power.[10] Thus at home the new monarchy had but a confused support. What was its position in Europe?

France was sure of England's sympathies alone. The key to the whole situation is found in the Russian question. For a long time the Tsar's policy had been to convert the Black Sea into an interior lake, to hold back the fleets of England and France in the Mediterranean, and finally to gain the control of Egypt, Greece and the Islands. The ultimate end of this policy was to obtain the English possessions in India; this necessitated the occupation of the Dardanelles. Charles X, as one of the restored Bourbons, had felt the obligation he was under to Russia, for it was the Emperor Alexander who had been foremost in negotiating the Restoration. Then too, he had the Bourbons' inherent respect for Legitimacy. It was his creed. Hence forgetful of England's kindness to his brother, he was inclined to allow the Russian policy to progress without protest on his part. This attitude, in turn, had rapidly alienated England's sympathies, and upon the return of the "premier émigrée" to the island as an exile, he was coldly received and overtures were made to the July Monarchy. This change in events could not but displease the Tsar, a displeasure which was further aggravated by the very evident sympathy entertained for Poland by a certain party in France. We find, then, a gradual rapprochement taking place between England and France as opposed to Russia. The Tsar's position, however, was not one of entire isolation. For Austria, swayed by Metternich, was oblivious to the probable outcome of the Russian policy and rather inclined to an alliance, particularly since she was already harassed by the dangers of Prussian ambition and the progress of liberalism as agitated by the Carbonari in her Italian possessions. Prussia was too well occupied with rebellious Rhine provinces, and

[10] "L'anarchie est moins dans les esprits que dans les pouvoirs; il y en a des gens qui ne savent ce qu'ils veulent; mais à la lèttre personne ne sait ce qu'il peut." Madame Swetchine—Lettres. 12 November 1830. And also d'Herbélot a Montalembert, 22 Sept. 1830. Lèttres d'Herbélot.

Spain and Portugal with difficult questions of succession, to be much concerned in French affairs. But in three smaller territories, to the north, south and east of France there were people watching eagerly the progress of events in Paris, people who felt that their very life depended on the yes or no of Louis Philippe, and whose hopes were centered in his government. These countries were Belgium, Italy and Poland, all but one of whom were to hope in vain. From the point of view of external affairs, therefore, the situation was not bad. Louis Philippe had a strong ally nearby, and was to a certain extent protected from the Holy Alliance by the unsafe conditions in the intervening countries. What a supreme opportunity there was for proving the worth of a liberal and constitutional monarchy! But this was not to be accomplished for in France itself there was nothing but a hopeless confusion of political dissensions, financial uncertainty, and an overpowering strain of personal egotism, all the inevitable consequences of forty-one years of revolution. Thus for foreign affairs the ministry declared "the doctrine of non-intervention," their interpretation of which was a veritable confession of the nation's weakness. In this France disclaimed any intention of intervening in behalf of the liberal movements in Italy, provided, in return, no foreign interference should take place along her frontier. And, for internal safety's sake the Ministry of Progressives and Doctrinaires had to call to their support and enlarge the national guard, in former times a noble body of national defense, but now transformed into an army of merchants and business men who enlisted to defend their own interests and not to protect the liberties of France.

London *Times*, Sept. 13, 1830

"A military monarchy is not a very enviable form of government for those over whom its authority is exercised. But a military democracy is perhaps the most to be deprecated."[11] This "military democracy" laid the foundation of a bourgeois rule, a reign of petty business interests in France.

So the first ministry accomplished very little, and what they did accomplish was not for the future good of France. Nevertheless there ensued shortly afterwards an all too brief period

[11] For an opposite view v. d'Herbélot to Montalembert 9 Oct. 1830. Lettres d'Herbélot.

of interest in national affairs. This was occasioned by the trial of the ministers of Charles X. Republican sentiment had finally asserted itself and brought the ministers to trial, but the death penalty for political offenses was first abolished. There can be no doubt but that this demand for justice was brought about by the events in Belgium and by the examples of the revolutionaries in Brussels. The demands for immediate trial became so pressing that the Cabinet was forced to resign and on the second of November the "parti du mouvement" came into power, headed by Laffitte and Sebastiani.[12] But this party brought very little relief, and, despite the appearance of liberalism in its legislative work, the results proved unsatisfactory. France is said to have suffered principally because of two policies pursued during their term of office. The first was the debasing efforts of the Cabinet to obtain recognition for Louis Philippe, and the second the passing of three laws one of which, it is asserted, paralyzed the power of the people in the commune and gave the bourgeois full sway.[13] Thus, while the Laffitte Ministry was honest and of one accord in its political professions, it was none the less incapable of preventing the gain of selfish interests and could accomplish nothing amid the confusing array of contrary political opinions. This condition, unfortunately, was not confined to the realm of politics, it extended to all branches of thought philosophical,

[12] Laffitte—President of Council. Minister of Finance.
Marechal Maison—Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Dupont (de l'Eure)—Guard of the Seals.
Comte Montalivet—Minister of the Interior.
Merillon—Minister of Public Instruction and Sects.
Marechal Gerard—Minister of War.
Comte Sebastiani—Minister of Marine.
Maison shortly afterwards replaced by Sebastiani.
Gerard shortly afterwards replaced by Soult.
Comte d'Argent—Minister of Marine. (Lesur Annaire).

[13] "It was, in fact, during this period that there was established by the successive abandonment of all nations, the diplomatic system which tended to bring France down to the rank of secondary powers in order to obtain recognition of Louis Philippe's right to rule. It was also during this time that by the law on municipalities they paralyzed with the same blow the action of the people in the commune and that of local influence. By the law on elections it possessed itself exclusively of the State." L. Blanc, Hist. I. 410.

social and religious. The result of such confusion was fatal to intellectual as well as political progress.

France was proud. By a revolution she had formed a new government; why should she not, by an intellectual revolution, establish a new system of philosophy, or economics, a new socialism or a new religion? She was possessed by the same overweening-pride that had ruled her in the first and great Revolution.[14] But in 1830 this pride was even greater, for having been in abeyance a score of years, it now rose higher into the realms of the impossible, more venomous, more intolerant and more dangerous than in the old time. There was again revived, under a slightly different form, the degenerate worship of Reason, and new sects appeared calling themselves Christian and embracing a vast and compound system of political science, morals, philosophy and religion. They became veritable centers of violence and riots. Among these it is well to note the Society of the People's Friend, which caused the sack of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the Society of the Rights of Man, interested in the riots of 1832 and 1834, and the two Societies of the "Families" and the "Seasons," one or both perhaps, vitally concerned in the disturbances incident to the ministerial crises of 1839-1840. The most peculiar and most successful because of its leaders, was Saint Simonism.[15] Originally a purely economic theory, Saint Simonism degenerated into a form of religion and a rule of life. Their principles were based on two time-worn theories, the rehabilitation of the body and matter, and the legitimacy of pleasure and passion. The head of the Saint Simonians was a paradoxical personage of a pontifical character—having two persons and known as one. He or they taken together

L. Blanc Hist., I, 410

v. Taschereau Reme Retrospective

v. Producteur, No. 5

v. Saint Simon—Oeuvres principally I, I

[14] Le gout et le pêché revolutionaire par excellence c'est le gout et le pêché de la destruction, pour se donner l'orgeuilleux plaisir de la création. Dans les temps atteints de cette maladie l'homme considère tout ce qui existe sous ses yeux, le passé et le présent, comme une matière inerte dont il dispose librement et qu'il peut manier et remanier pour la façonner, à son gré. Il se figure qu'il a dans l'esprit des idées complètes et parfaites qui lui donnent sur toute chose le pouvoir absolu et du nom desquels il peut à tout risque, et à tout prix briser ce qui est, pour le refaire á leur image." Guizot, Memoirs II. 21.

[15] Saint Simon, Enfantin, Bazard and even at one time A. Comte and Proudhon.

were called the "Pope." But—upon a quarrel between the two persons of the "Pope" who happened to be Enfantin and Bazard, the sect split up into separate factions and finally disappeared. This is only one instance of the existence and end of countless sects in which individualism seems to have run riot. In addition to these groups there were, of course, still others who prided themselves on professing no belief whatever. They comprised for the most part a struggling remnant known as the inheritors of the Encyclopedists. But even they in their turn, felt the ground tremble under their feet and saw their self-made confidence vanish. Then, feeling the void they themselves had created and too proud to return to the old faith, they must needs construct a belief of their own only to have it crumble to ruins in a short time. This was the anarchy of belief as well as of political doctrine in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign, egotistical, confused, illogical and of human fashioning.

Amid the general chaos in the first year of the July Monarchy, Christianity had not fared much better. Only with effort had the Faith been enabled to survive the fall of the Restoration, to which it had been so closely and so wrongly allied. Catholicism existed but remained unrecognized. For the first time in centuries a king of France had not been blessed with the benediction of Rome. And had Louis Philippe desired this act, he could not have asked it, for in public he did not even dare mention the word "Providence." Religion had been severed from Royalty, and, indeed, from authority as well. The crosses had been removed from the tribunes, some places of worship had been officially closed and when the "church" was mentioned it was nearly always in secrecy. Even the priests must needs be careful not to appear on the street if they would avoid insults. But if a priests aroused the throngs to ridicule, an open church often excited them to riot. St. Germain de l'Auxerrois was sacked, and the archbishop's palace pillaged, in the presence, it is asserted, of a member of the king's government.[16] The explanation of all these events, however, is not so difficult as it appears at first sight. About the same time that the above

[16] Thiers, L. Blanc, Hist. I, 394.

atrocities were committed Louis Philippe removed the fleurs de lys from his coaches. In the relation between these two events is found the secret of all the trouble. In all probability, the manifestations of hostility to the church shown by the Paris throng had their origin in a political rather than a religious prejudice. By the Concordat of 1801 the church had been allied to the governing power. The Pope himself had seen this and must have regretted it, for, during the Restoration he had made ceaseless appeals for the negotiation of a new Concordat. But, all this had been of no avail, and the restored Bourbons had made the church in France the instrument of their own wishes and desires. In so doing they had established a form of Gallicanism that, upheld and fostered by the "petite Église" party, had resulted greatly to their own increase of power but had been fatal to the good name of the church in France. When, therefore, the government of Charles X became more unpopular, the church, now almost an integral part of the Restoration, was equally despised, and upon the fall of Charles many, unable to distinguish the great truths and the real virtue lying at its basis, sought to make way with Catholicism as well. It was indeed a terrible punishment for the faith that many of the men of 1830 failed to distinguish Carlists from Catholics, not all of whom had joined in the selfish and foolish desires of their more extreme and reactionary colleagues. This, then, was the condition of the church in 1830. A new Jansenius was needed, but more, a new Arnauld, a Frenchman, not a stranger, who knew his people and his country, who loved them both, and yet loved above all his church. And so it was that coming out from their obscurity at La Chesnaie, where they had laboured and sent out from time to time messages of encouragement to the struggling remnant left in the church, a small group headed by the abbé de La Mennais, set out for Paris to begin a new work for which they had prepared themselves with care and continuous application.

Robert Felicite de La Mennais was above all others, the man suited to appeal to those hardened patriots of the July Revolution. He had passed through just such experiences, just such vague uncertainties and just such doubts as they had undergone. Born in Brittany June 19, 1782, La Mennais

had been old enough to witness and consider in all its significance the last years of the earlier period in the French Revolution. The Empire and Restoration had followed, and brought with them many old and some new abuses. The first found him without belief but the Restoration left him not only a convert but a priest. The latter step had been a difficult one and it had taken place only after a severe spiritual experience. All the influences of the Revolution had thus had an opportunity to play and leave their impress upon the young priest, from Rousseau, with whose works he became acquainted through his uncle, Robert des Saudrais, to de Bonald and Pascal, both of whom his interest in Chateaubriand's "Le Génie du Christianisme" led him to read. What a contrast this young priest must have been to many of his fellow-clergy, for the greater part much older than he and so embued with the importance of regaining their temporal powers that they seemed to have neglected their chief priestly function—that of ministering to humanity. From the very day of his ordination La Mennais seems to have perceived this evil and determined to combat and resist it. It will be remembered that he made this the main theme of his first work, "Réflexions sur l'État de l'Église en France pendant le dixhuitième siècle, et sur sa situation acteuelle" (1808), and in future years La Mennais did not relent in his attack, even when busied with the management of his brother's order or occupied in the instruction of youth. It was in 1821 that the young priest came definitely before the public eye. In that year he published an "Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de Religion." This work is of prime importance, for it predicted the author's future career and it contained the fundamentals of all the themes expounded ten years later in "l'Avenir"; the regeneration of the church by liberty and the regeneration of mankind by the church when once it had been freed from its faults. The great evil of the church and people is a spiritual deadness. One paragraph alone is sufficient to make this clear:

v. Cr. Marechal Jeunesse de La Mennais, Ch. I

"The century the most seriously endangered is not one that eagerly pursues error, but the century that neglects and disdains the Truth. There is force and consequently hope, when you see violent transports of passion one way or the other; but when all movement is stopped, when the pulse

La Mennais Indifference, I, Preface

has ceased to beat, when the cold has gained the heart, what is there left to expect but a rapid and inevitable dissolution? You may try to hide it from yourself; society in Europe is fast approaching this fatal end."

With this hypothesis La Mennais set out to cure society of its fatal malady, and in his beginnings he displayed remarkable prescience. Realizing that the hope of the nation lay in its youth, in the coming generation, and not in the individual acts of one man alone, he gradually gathered around him a small group of young enthusiastic spirits into whom he might inculcate his ideas, the embodiment of which were later found in the motto selected for *l'Avenir*—"Dieu et la Liberté." In this group, composed for the greater part of adherents to the liberal romatic youth of Paris, Henri Lacordaire was a prominent member, and it was probably this future priest who persuaded La Mennais to convert a small piece of family property known as La Chesnaie into a sort of religious community. The plan enjoyed immediate success and soon people came to say that what in Paris the Romantic School was for Literature, the "école Menaisienne" at La Chesnaie became for religion.[17] It must not be supposed, however, that the "school" at La Chesnaie was an entirely isolated factor in the religious life of the nation. Even before its founding La Mennais had established relations in Paris that soon were brought into close connection with La Chesnaie, and as the fame and popularity of his books increased, he was forced to make more frequent journeys to Paris in order to consult his publishers. While in the Capitol he was accustomed to visit the home of his old friend the abbé de Salinis. It was there that La Mennais first met Abbé Gerbet to whom the project of the "Memorial Catholique" had just been confided, Rohrbacher even at that time writing his monumental history of the church, Goesset, de Bonald and Eugène Boré famous orientalist.

[17] Tandisque le prêtre s'appliquait à orienter et à maintenir dans un sens chrétien le mouvement romantique, le poète s'efforca de conquerir la jeune école catholique à sa reforme littéraire: Sainte-Beuve les seconda l'un et l'autre, bien qu'il eut peutêtre autant de scepticisme en littérature qu'en religion. It mit à profit ses relations avec des menaisiens pour leur precher le romanticisme, et il ne le precha pas sans succès. La Mennais se laissa gagner." Boutard II. 93.

editor of the "Journal Asiatique" and later superior of the Order of the Mission. The Salon of the abbé de Salinis thus became the cradle of the "école Menaisienne," and whenever the solitary priest of La Chesnaie came to the Capitol the abbé's home was crowded with friends and admirers, or others seeking introduction to this man who dared advocate views which they held but failed to express.

In addition to the clergy La Mennais had many friends among the laity and they too flocked to the rendezvous that was now become the nucleus of a new Liberal Catholic Party. Among them were found such men as Foisset, Leon Boré, the brother of Eugène Boré and equally talented, de Cazales, de Carné a future champion of religious liberty in the chambers, Alphonse d'Herbélot at first an interested observer and then a convert, and Sainte-Beuve also a recent convert.[18] Even from this brief summary it may be clearly seen how the ideas of the young reformer had spread and were beginning to dominate a certain group of the Romantic School in Paris. But, La Mennais' ideas had gone still further, they had even permeated the reactionary clergy. This fact alarmed the more conservative of that body and, through the exertion of their influence La Mennais and his principles soon became a source of constant worry to the government and to Rome as well. Up to 1828, however, La Mennais had not been regarded as a controversialist, but beginning with that year he entered upon the field he was not to leave until his defeat. In all probably it was the July Ordinances that aroused him. To the utter astonishment of all the Liberal Catholics the Pope ordered them to submit to Charles X's humiliating decrees. This was too much for the hot-headed Breton priest.

"I do not believe," he wrote, "that for centuries so great a scandal has been known; and how fatal the results may be! Rome, Rome, what are you doing? What has become of that voice that in the old time sustained the feeble and aroused the negligent? That voice that has been accustomed to circumvent the world, giving to all in times of danger, the courage to fight or to die. To-day they can only say: 'Submit.' If

[18] V. G. M. Harper—Sainte-Beuve. 66.

E. Forgues, Corresp., 20 Oct. 1828

our fall comes from the source whence we ought to expect our salvation, what can we do but obey the words of the prophet, who said: 'Elongavi fugiens, et mansi in solitudine.'"

From this time dates La Mennais' conversion to the belief in the absolute necessity of the church's entire independence and separation from the state. He now became an Ultramontane but in an entirely different sense from the generally accepted meaning of that term. He desired Rome to throw off all secular interests, and to become thoroughly spiritualized. This done, he advocated complete subjugation to the will of the Pope. This feeling he expressed in the last works he published before the July Revolution: two letters to the Archbishop of Paris, one of which was condemned, and a work entitled "Des Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre lÉglise." These works decided Le Mennais' future. The Conservative Party, the largest and most strongly Gallican, beheld in him a dangerous Progressive and Ultramontane of and entirely new stamp, while his timid followers looked on aghast. In a letter written to a friend in May, 1829, a little over a year before his entrance into public life, La Mennais describes his position in a striking manner.

"When I consider the astonishing phenomenon that the present offers to us, I have difficulty in finding sufficient personal strength to console myself for having broken the silence that many have kept so happily for their own welfare. The church was there, alone in the arena, given over to the beasts and gladiators: I felt the desire to fight for her, to defend her with my own weakness. Immediately bishops and priests ran to watch the spectacle, their pockets filled with stones. They sat down and it became a contest to see who, from the height of their comfortable seats where they reclined at ease, could hit with greatest accuracy the misguided and daring fellow who had exposed himself to the teeth of the bears and tigers, without authorization; these same people who play the game witih such skill, become irritated when his actions are not conformable to their desires; they would not have done as he has, and the stone arrives to prove it to him."

E. Forgues, Corresp. 22 Mai 1829

This was the encouragement La Mennais received from the church whose miserable condition has been described. Upon his very first entrance on the field those blind ecclesiastics

attacked the man who, for the salvation of humanity and the church, sought to make them distinguish real religion from an affair of politics, and an ideal and logical order in the church from a condition of flagrant disorder and abuse. It now remains to see how he and his school fared under another régime whose head had cried aloud: "La Charte sera desormais une verité."

CHAPTER II

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND LA MENNAIS

During the nineteenth century, the Liberal Roman Catholics sprung from the school of La Mennais, exerted a considerable influence in questions of internal and external politics in France. This influence dates from the Charter of 1830 and outlasts the July Monarchy. Those eighteen years witnessed but the beginnings of a great movement which seemed at first to have culminated in the Law of Separation in 1905, but which, many believe, has not yet reached its end. Like all such movements, the early period (1830-1848) to which our study is confined, falls into two divisions, the "époque critique" and the "époque organique"—to borrow an expression from the Saint Simonians. The first half of the reign of Louis Philippe, then, is the formative period when the movement centered about one principal figure the Abbé de La Mennais, and when its action was diffused and uncertain, seeking a point d'appui. In 1840, in turn, a change seems to have come over it, transforming it into a more reasonable and logical agitation for one definite object—and that, the fulfilment of one article of the Charter—the 69th—by which Liberty of Instruction was guaranteed. It was then that the Liberal Catholics exerted a positive influence. From 1840 begins, then, the "époque organique," a period lasting even to our own day and full of interest and import to the student of modern French history. But it would be quite impossible to take up a study of the "époque organique" without a careful consideration of the earlier and more formative agitation, for in the latter are found the fundamentals and most of the origins of the later period. Events led La Mennais and his group to make the first effort and Montalembert and Lacordaire to profit by their first experience and succeed in their second attempt. It is, however, a curiously ironic comment on the short sightedness of human nature that,

at the time of success, when these two leaders were at the zenith of their activity the Liberal Catholics seemed loath to acknowledge their origin. One of them, probably Louis Veuillot, wrote:

"The history of ecclesiastical opposition in France may be divided into three situations: the first the resistance of priests and bishops, in 1811, to the imperial government, the second the declaration of the French episcopacy in 1828 to the July Ordinances, and the third the protest of the bishops in 1841 to the Monopole Universitaire and the proposed laws on secondary instruction. About these three principal events center all accessory questions; the arena opened at these three periods was filled with a crowd of 'petits combats partiels'; but all the efforts from one side or from the other are centered in these three solemn debates."

L'Univers, 15 Août, 1846

And so they would place the great effort of La Mennais—the founder of their own school, in the classification of "petis combats partiels"! Happily Time, more just, has acknowledged the fault and given the credit where it is due.

The church, after the Revolution of 1830, presented a curious paradox.

"Je ne sais où nous abouterons, mais vraiment le catholicisme est bien malade et ne sait qui le relèvera."

d'Herbelot to Montalembert, 7 Août, 1829

So one of those interested in the "école menaisienne" had written shortly before the fall of the Restoration. This may be said to describe the condition of the church a year later when the clergy seemed stricken with a hopeless apathy and civil death.[1] But this appearance was a curious one for it did not represent the true state of affairs. Legally, or from the point of view of the Constitution, their condition was much happier. For, the Charter of 1830, while declaring that the state did not profess any specified religion, allowed the people a free choice and provided that all clergymen should be paid from the public treasury.[2] Furthermore, by the pro-

[1] "Le Clergé est frappé d'une sorte de mort civile." Ami la Religion et du roi. 12 Juillet 1831.

[2] "Art. 5. Chacun professe sa religion avec une égale liberté et obtient pour son culte une égale protection.

Art. 6. Les Ministres de la religion Catholique, apostolique and romaine professée par la majorité des français et ceux des autres cultes chrétiens recoivent des traitements du Trésor." Charter of 1830.

mise of a new law, liberty of instruction was guaranteed.[3] Despite these facts, however, the position of the clergy and the state of religion in France were not so good as might have been expected. To explain such a state of affairs would necessitate a careful review of the preceding thirty-one years. In brief this condition arose from two main causes. The first cause was antecedent to the entire situation and lay in the fact that the Concordat of 1801 and the Organic Articles were still in force and restricted, to some extent, whatever liberties the Charter might have promised, while the second cause was the attitude of the new government and the people's response to it.

The early legislation of the chambers under the July Monarchy indicated what would be its attitude to religion. In politics they had demanded and successfully effected a subordination of all powers to bourgeois interest. For religion, they were to act the same way. As the Concordat of 1801 had been a protest against the possibility of the rise of reactionary church principles, so the early religious policy of the Bourgeois Monarchy was intended to serve as a counteraction against the "dangerous doctrine of theocracy" (as they considered it) advocated by the young Catholics through their leader, La Mennais. The one desire of the legislature at that moment was moderation, and, too confident in their own ability to create institutions, they sought to establish in the Church what, it was believed, would prove "a moderate and reasonable faith." The Church, then, was in no immediate danger of interference on the part of the chambers; both houses only sought to establish that very state of indifference which La Mennais would have abolished.

L. Veuillot, "Rome et Lorette," I, 39 Debidour, "E et E," 414-419 Thureau Danguin, Hist., I, 246, 7

The ministers, however, were in a still less certain position. Divided as they were between "mouvement" and "résistance" they could not arrive at any definite decision, could not carry out any of the liberties guaranteed by the Charter, and soon initiated that policy of promising and failing to fulfill their

[3] "Art. 6. The following subjects shall be provided for successively by separate laws within the shortest possible space of time.

. . . . . .

8th Public Instruction and the Liberty of Teaching." Charter of 1830.

promises that was to end in becoming a principal cause of the downfall of Louis Philippe. It would have been better had they heeded the words of more than one prophet who took the trouble to warn them.[4] The attitude of the king, in turn, was equally curious, and as time went on his personal feelings in the matter of religion became more difficult to explain and less creditable. During the early period he maintained a discreet silence. Louis Philippe was, perhaps, afraid of the Church questions, and in this he was not so unreasonable as it might appear at first glance. A divided Church harassed him on both sides. One wing the Gallicans, remnants of the "petite église" or "parti prêtre" held decidedly strong legitimist sympathies, while in the other faction La Mennais and his group were beginning to attract attention and to betray every day more unmistakable signs of republican tendencies. "Better not put your finger in church affairs. You will never get it out again. It will stay there." the king is said to have remarked. Debidour, E et E, 422

Among the French in general the attitude to Catholicism may be summed up in three categories; the faithful, the indifferent and the hostile. The former comprised the great majority of the lower class known as the "people," and also a number of the nobility, together with an occasional bourgeois. The people believed in it, the nobles, for the most part, practiced it as both a political and a religious creed, while the few bourgeois who accepted Catholic principles generally did so in a sincerely reverent spirit. The second class, the indifferent, held that some sort of a religion was necessary for the lower classes. *And why not Catholicism?* Among their number were principally the members of the Right and Left Centers, and a few nobles. The majority, however, came from the rich bourgeois class. In the third category, are

[4] At this time many pamphlets were published advising the new government what attitude to take to the religious problem. As a type I quote the following paragraph:

"Au reste, avant de terminer ce chapitre, je donnerai un dernier conseil au government: c'est de ne pas opprimer la religion consacrée dans la charte; il s'en trouvera bien. S'il en était autrement, de grands malheurs pourraient venir affliger notre patrie." "Reflexions d'un Royaliste." Dollé 1831.

found the adherents of the extreme Left—for the most part a collection, and fairly large at that, of the discontented political riff-raff. They were all violently opposed to the Church as an institution and as a creed, and soon inaugurated a disgusting anti-clerical campaign by launching forth a flood of "literature" some of which bore such choice titles as, "Histoire scandaleuse, politique, anecdotique et bigote du clergé de France," "Infamie des prêtres devoilée," "La chemise de Femme et Correspondance Gallante trouvée dans l'oratoire de l'archevêché de Paris," "L'archévêque de Paris accusé d'assassinat sur la personne de soeur Veronique, pharmacienne de St. Cyr" and so forth.[5]

This was the spirit of the times and the state of affairs when La Mennais left La Chesnaie and came to Paris in September, 1830. He did not come this time, however, to consult his publisher nor to visit the branch of his brother's order in the rue de Vaugirard, but to found the newspaper that was to become the mouthpiece of the Liberal Roman Catholics. For some time negotiations had been under way. It seems that immediately after the July Days in 1830 M. Harel du Tancrel conceived the idea of founding a paper which would force the government to live up to the Charter in so far as Roman Catholic Liberties were concerned. He suggested it to be abbé Gerbet of the "Memorial Catholique" and the latter communicated at once with the group at La Chesnaie. La Mennais had long been considering the starting of a newspaper by means of which he could expound his views for the redemption of the church and for the saving of his fellow-men by the church once redeemed and raised to its former state. A few weeks later he wrote to a friend:

Boutard, II, 118

"They are shortly going to publish here a newspaper, the prospectus of which you must have received; it will appear the fifteenth of October; its name will be *l'Avenir* and its purpose to unite, on the bases of liberty, men of all opinions attached to order; this attempt which circumstances seem to favour wonderfully, will not be without success, I believe.

[5] V. Pamphlets of the date also. "Ami du Peuple" 30th Octobre 1830 and Janvier, Février 1831.

The more vulgar théâtres produced plays entitled: "Victimes Cloitrées," "Papesse Jeanne," etc.

In fact, I hope much good will come of it. Among us there exists already a great group of liberals who are weary of anarchy and despotism and who understand that the oppression of one party by another is not liberty but tyranny; these come in crowds together under the banner of *l'Avenir;* the clergy too will seek protection there. Only certain royalists are holding off and among them even there are many whom time will enlighten."

Corres. ed, Forgues, 29 Sept., 1830

The editors and principal contributors of the new journal were to be—La Mennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, who joined them in November 1830, Rohrbacher, de Coux, Baade of Doellinger School in Munich, Count Merode and Hartel du Tancrel who was called the editor-in-chief. In reality, of course, La Mennais was the leader. A prospectus brought forth many subscriptions, and La Mennais was much encouraged. Perhaps, however, he was too sanguine, he had failed to consider his enemies. The outlook for the newspaper was of the very brightest, its board possessed talent and it was announced that from time to time the greatest writers of the period would contribute.[6]

Lèttres de la Mennais à Montalembert. Ed. Forgues, 8 Nov. 1830

Corres. ed. Forgues, 21 Sept., 1830

In the middle of October the first number of *l'Avenir* appeared, and in it the real editor-in-chief, La Mennais, did not hesitate to expound his views:

"If you sincerely desire religious liberty, liberty of education without which there can be no religious liberty, you are one of us; but we too are in sympathy with you, for we desire no less sincerely the liberty of the press, all the political

[6] In fact many famous writers did contribute—among the most prominent of the Romantic School we note: V. Hugo—a chapter—Notre Dame de Paris, Lamartine, Verse and Letters to Montalembert. V. *l'Avenir* 20 Juillet 1831 and numbers for December and January 1831.

Thureau-Dangin in his History of the July Monarchy renders homage to the talent gathered in *l'Avenir* in the following eloquent terms: "Après tout, nul journal ne réunissait alors des écrivains d'un tel talent. C'était La Mennais avec cette langue qui faisait de lui presque l'égal de M. de Chateaubriand et de M. de Maistre, avec cette véhémence sombre, terrible, qui serait à la fois du tribune populaire, et du prophète biblique; inflexible dans sa dialectique, amer et dedaigneux dans son ironie, manquant souvent de mesure et de gout, mais n'en demeurant pas moins l'un des rhéteurs les plus éclatants, et l'un des plus redoubtables polémistes de ce temps."

and civil liberties compatible with the maintenance of public order."

l'Avenir, 16 Oct., 1830

Thus at the very outset, almost from the opening lines of the first number of *l'Avenir*, it is evident how far in the brief space of July to October, La Mennais' party of Liberal Roman Catholics had wandered from the paths of the Doctrinaires with whom they seemed to be in alliance but a few months before. They no longer demanded a mild and discreet following of the Charter but a fulfilment "à outrance." Republicanism, therefore, appeared in the very first number of *l'Avenir* and, as time went on this tendency became more evident. Even the Republicans failed, however, until several months later, to perceive the entirety of La Mennais' plan as outlined in *l'Avenir*." Liberty to the editors of this paper meant a firm opposition to Gallicanism, which was nothing more in their eyes than the cause of anarchy in the spiritual world and despotism in the political. Moreover, they would tolerate Louis Philippe's government only so long as the Church remained independent in its teaching, its government and its discipline. This, in turn, could lead to nothing else than an abolition of the Concordat of 1801. So much for the Church itself.

v. *l'Avenir*, 17 Oct., 1830, Corresp. ed., Forgues II, 292

L. Blanc, Hist., I, 383

Their demands for civic liberties were still greater and comprised such large questions as the liberty of education, both school and university, the liberty of the press and that of association. But the demands of *l'Avenir* did not end here, they extended even into the realms of diplomacy. In this matter particularly, *"l'Avenir"* found itself absolutely in opposition to the policy of the government as set forth by the two ministers of the Formation period. The new Catholics were fundamentally and irrevocably opposed to the ministers' interpretation of the doctrine of non-intervention, and they maintained that the right and duty of a powerful and liberal nation, if that nation be truly powerful and liberal, was to intervene in behalf of all others less fortunate; hence *l'Avenir's* attitude to Belgium, Poland, Italy and Ireland.[7]

"Catholics, let us learn to demand, to defend our rights

[7] For the most comprehensive exposition of l'Avenir's attitude in this respect, V. l'Avenir 21 Fevier 1831. An article by Montalembert.

which are the rights of all Frenchmen, the rights of every man who is determined not to bend under a yoke any longer, to refuse all kinds of servitude no matter under what guise it appears or with what name it is cloaked. A man is free when he wants to be; he is free when he knows how to unite and fight and die rather than cede the very slightest portion of those rights that are alone of value to human existence." *l'Avenir*, 16 Oct., 1831

This was not the language of the *Moniteur,* the *Journal des Débats,* nor yet of *Ami de la Religion et lu roi.* Such a programme could appeal only to the most ardent of the Liberal Catholics and to those men of the political world who were the most extreme Republicans. What a contrast to the language of forty and more years before when another liberal Catholic sought to join his cause to that of the Republicans![8] Vast is the distance between 1790 and 1830. It is even greater than that between Gallican principles and a new ultramontanism.

"God has placed the only real remedy in the law of the Gospel destined to unite men by a fraternal affection; from this it results that all live in each and each live in all. Real liberty and Christian spirit are inseparable. He who does not love his brother as himself, no matter what his opinions and speculations may be, contains within himself a grain of tyranny and consequently of servitude. Furthermore, the universal and crying need of liberty today is to our eyes a certain proof that Christianity, far from being weakened, is really more powerful than ever. For, leaving the surface of society where a thousand constraints were sapping its life away, it has gone down to the very basis of society and there in silence it is accomplishing a work that is just now commencing."[9]

It was with such words that he called out to the bishops: "Go, like the twelve fishermen, and recommence the conquest of the world."

From the State, *l'Avenir* asked but little assistance; they already saw its weakness in the vagueness of its policy.[10]

"*l'Avenir* proposed to defend the Catholic institution (sys-

[8] Abbe Gregoire and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

[9] La Mennais' account of the purpose of "l'Avenir," Affaires de Rome, p. 34.

[10] C'est ainsi très certainement qu'on prolonge les révolutions." l'Avenir, 17 October 1830.

Affaires de Rome 4-5

tem) languishing and persecuted principally by those very powers that affect to call themselves its protectors."

But to do this, Christianity as a whole, not only the bishops, must go back to the primitive Church eighteen centuries in the past, and La Mennais intended *l'Avenir* to show them the way:

"And now what way remained for her to become what she had been in the beginning, to recover with the confidence of the masses her influence, except that of returning to the source, of identifying her interests, as much as possible, in the interests of humanity, of coming to the assistance of its needs, and of aiding it to develop in all its phases and all its consequences applicable at that time, the Christian principle of equality before the law. The realization of this principle constitutes order without which there is no liberty, and liberty without which there is no law."

Affaires de Rome, 7

Among the lower clergy such a philosophy found many willing hearers, but among the bishops few, for the majority of the higher ecclesiastics were Legitimists and found their opinions reflected in the pages of *Ami de la Religion et du roi.* Moreover, La Mennais did not enjoy the favor of the Archbishop of Paris who had already had occasion to condemn him and who regretted the Bourbons. The Vatican, in turn, maintained a strict silence, doubtless because they hoped to obtain a repeal of the Concordat. Had Pius VIII but seen what a later pontiff saw; had he but realized that a Pope should not be a Regalist if he would be independent and that despotisms or absolute states were his greatest enemies!

Ami de la Religion et du roi, 16-20 Oct, 1830

Their enemies—at home—however, were not long silent, and as if to tempt the new group into a rash statement they confronted them at once with a difficult problem. The coalition of Legitimists and Gallicans asked if the Church could really recognize a government that was the issue of a revolution. The coalition held, of course, that it was impossible. The answer, happily, was not so difficult for the Liberal Catholics as their interrogators had anticipated. They replied: "Populus facit regem." The statement of his opinion marks the first point of departure from the political doctrines of the old church party. The Gallicans could not tolerate an acknowl-

l'Avenir, 17 Oct., 1830

edgment of Louis Philippe, and still more unpardonable to their eyes were the republican sympathies of the new Catholics.[11] To this first separation from the Legitimist branch of the Church has been attributed the fall of the first movement, unfavourable reports of which preceded La Mennais to Rome and followed Lacordaire, the more timid, even to the pulpit of Notre Dame. But time, it seems, has shown that this answer was not the most important of several causes.

Thureau-Dangin, Hist., II, 293

So far, the activity of the new party had been confined entirely to propaganda in *l'Avenir,* and was of a speculative nature only, but it was not long before they were called upon to test their theories. The Charter of 1830 while granting liberties of which *l'Avenir* had demanded the execution, had also made stipulations against which it had loudly protested. Their principal objection was based on an article declaring that "the clergy of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, which faith is professed by the majority of the French, and the clergy of other denominations as well, shall receive salaries from the public treasury." Upon the presentation of a budget for 1,670,000,000 francs by M. Laffitte, great opposition was aroused. The *Globe* and its satellites protested strongly on the ground of excessive expenses. Le Mennais and his school lent their voices to this protest, but in a totally different sense; they objected to the servitude of the clergy in that they were paid by the state. At the same time the king, acting upon the Concordat, appointed two bishops. Here was the opportunity for the Liberal Catholics to enter the field. Protests became more violent. Alarmed by the opposition of the two parties the government determined on a show of force; La Mennais and Lacordaire were brought before the tribunal for two articles they had published in *l'Avenir* apropos of the budget and the nomination of the bishops.[12] As usual, this display

Charter, 1830, Art. 6

[11] N'avoir que du sucre et du miel pour les rédacteurs du "Globe," par exemple, et réserver tout son fiel contre nous, nous prodiguer les signes de mépris, affecter avec nous des airs de hauteur; de tels procédés conviennent—ils à des écrivains qui se respectent un peu, et surtout à des chrétiens et à des prêtres?" Ami de La Religion et du roi. 3 Fevrier 1831.

[12] La Mennais' article appeared in *l'Avenir* 26 November 1830, under the title—"Oppression des Catholiques." He said, in part: "Ou le

V. London *Times*, Feb. 4, 1831

of determination on the part of the government brought it little credit and resulted in a tacit victory for the accused. Thus the first persecution of *l'Avenir* ended in a gain, for it had given the defendants an opportunity to express publicly their views.

There is one phase of the affair, however, which must not be overlooked. As has been noted, the Gallicans were offended by the language of *l'Avenir,* and in their account of the trial they inaugurated a policy of recrimination against the new party, attacking it not from the point of view of the monarchy or their own political opinions but from that of the Church and orthodoxy alone. It is interesting to let them speak for themselves:

"One phrase, among others, surprises us in this plea (of M. Janvier): here it is: "M de la Mennais has charged me to tell you that for fifteen years he has worked to regenerate Catholicism and to give it—under a new guise and according to the new progress—the force and life that have abandoned it." If we had only read this sentence in the *Gazette des Tribunes* we could have believed that it had been inexactly reported; but it exists with the same text in *l'Avenir.* Furthermore, M. de la Mennais was present at the trial and did not protest against the use of this expression. It is therefore, an established fact that he had charged his lawyer to say that he had been working for fifteen years to regenerate Catholicism and that it had lost its force and life. This declaration certainly will not displease the enemies of the Church; they accused it of

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pouvoir ne peut pas ou il ne veut pas, en ce qui nous concerne, être fidèle à ce qu'il a promis. S'il ne peut pas qu'est ce que cette moquerie de souveraineté, ce fantôme misérable du gouvernement, et qu'y a-t-il entre lui et nous? Il est à notre égard comme s'il n'était pas, et il ne nous reste, en l'oubliant, qu'à nous protéger nous-mêmes.

. . . S'il ne veut pas, il rompt le contrat qui nous liait ê lui, condition expresse qu'il tiendra lui-même ses engagements envers nous; sinon non." Lacordaire's article had appeared the day before and was called "Aux Évêques de France," *l'Avenir,* 25 Nov. 1830. These articles had a bad effect, they estranged more than ever the Gallicans who reported the matter to Rome. Quite a correspondence is said to have passed between La Mennais and Ventura who sought to extricate him from this unfortunate situation, but to no avail. V. Boutard II. 225.

having degenerated and M. de la Mennais supports them in declaring that it has lost its life and its force and that he is striving to bring about its regeneration."

Ami de la Religion et du roi, 8 Février, 1831

This word "régénérer" employed by M. Janvier with or without the defendant's sanction was to cost La Mennais much. It was repeated in the Papal Bull which was later directed against him. This, then, was the influence at Rome of *l'Ami de la Religion et du roi* and its adherents. The following year held another such victory in store for the Liberal Catholics, but it was not to bring with it such unhappy results.

V. "Mirari Vos," Greg., XVI, Aug., 1832

The government, in its turn, gained little profit from the trial. It only served to accentuate more than ever its inherent weakness, a fact which was made all the more evident by their attitude in regard to the elections of a new Pope, and the memorial service for Louis XVI. Well might others compare past glories and the July Monarchy; the comparison was not flattering for the "Liberals" of 1830! Shortly after the trial another event of interest to the Church occurred, the sack of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. As has been previously noted, this was probably an attempt on the part of the group in control to show the determination of the government. It was, too, a political recrimination against the Church, but may it not also have been an apology on the part of the government to the bourgeois for its manifest weakness in December and January? By many parties it was regarded as a most unfortunate affair.[13] At any rate, it gave *l'Avenir* the opportunity it was waiting for, the chance to make a definite and public break with the July Monarchy and the Gallicans as well. On the morrow of the outrage the following article appeared in *l'Avenir:*

V. London *Times,* 11 Dec., 1830. Ibid., 22 Jan., 1831

"Catholics, the foolhardy have just succeeded in compromising both the peace of the country and your own just cause, by covering with the cloak of religion their evil designs and perhaps even their conspiracies. They have attempted to in-

[13] A propos of the sack Guizot is said to have remarked: "De toutes les orgies, celles de l'impiété révolutionaire sont les pires, car c'est là qu'éclate la révolte des âmes contre leur souverain. Et je ne sais en vérité, les quels sont les plus insensés de ceux qui s'y jetèrent avec fureur, ou de ceux qui sourirent en les regardant." Quoted from Bardoux-Guizot 60.

augurate civil war beside a tomb, thus profaning prayer, the temple, the sacrifice, the mysteries of God and of death. . . . Break, therefore, break forever with men whose incorrigible ignorance endangers this holy religion, who sacrifice their God to their king, and who, if they once gain the upper hand, will degrade your altars until they are nothing more than mere thrones."[14]

L'Avenir, 18 Février, 1831

This article attacking as it did, both the Old Church party and the State, produced a great effect, more, perhaps, than *l'Avenir* had anticipated. It offended all conservatives, and such violent words were again unfortunate for so noble a movement. Already hated by the Legitimists *l'Avenir* had now broken whatever ties of allegiance it may have had with the men of the government who asserted that they had never placed entire faith in the "école menaisienne." La Mennais was to find that from now on he had practically all of conservative or even moderate opinion against him; the government frightened and angered at the tone in which *l'Avenir* had spoken of the throne, the Legitimists overjoyed at the false step of their rival,[15] and many of the Liberals who were totally unable to understand such an attitude. His political enemies now sought to discountenance "the Breton" among his fellow clergy and superiors. It seems, however, that La Mennais was not the author of this article, as he was not in Paris at the time.[16] The blame fell, none the less, upon the leader of the group. The cause of the Liberal Roman Catholics was not lost, it was but endangered; now, they must fight for their existence, and this they proceeded to do.

V. *Moniteur*, 19 Février, 1831

V. *Le Globe*, 19 Février, 1831

l'Avenir, 29 Avril, 1831

It must not be supposed, however that this small enthusias-

[14] V. also Ami de la Religion et du roi. 12 Février 1831 and numbers for April 1831.

Even La Mennais' friends at Rome were alarmed by this extreme language and they urged him to accede to the warning of abbé Ventura who had written him shortly before: "Votre tort devient d'autant plus grand que vous paraissez prêcher la Révolution au nom de la Religion." Quoted from letter published in *Ami de la Religion et du roi.* 10 Fevrier 1831.

[15] Commenting on this attitude they referred to part of an article they had published before and claimed it was justified. V. Ami de la Religion et du roi. 10 Fevrier 1831.

[16] It has been ascribed to Montalembert. Boutard II. 262.

tic group in the Church had allowed themselves to go so far without at least an attempt to obtain papal sanction for their ideas. La Mennais himself relates that on the second day of February, 1831, the very date of the election of Gregory XVI, the editors of *l'Avenir* somewhat surprised by the discussion their actions had given rise to, and fearing perhaps that they had gone too far, signed an exposition of their doctrines. The document was given to a deputy who, in turn, presented it to Monsieur Sébastiani. The Foreign Minister promised to see that it reached the Pope through a diplomatic channel. For some reason or other the exposition was not given to Gregory XVI at this time, perhaps because of the serious political condition existing in the Papal States. The unfortunate part of the entire affair, however, is the fact that the government failed to notify La Mennais of its decision not to transmit the document and it was not until much later that the editors of *l'Avenir* discovered the false position in which they had been placed. They continued the publication, supposing naturally by the Pope's silence and failure to reply, that they had his tacit approval. When they finally did discover the whole truth of the matter, they were already in hard straits. Well might they question if the government had not done this purposely! The above incident should be held in mind throughout the following account of subsequent events, for it throws an entirely different light on the later actions of La Mennais and his party. Furthermore, it is an important fact which many critics of this period have failed to take into consideration.

l'Avenir, 15 November, 1831

l'Avenir, 15 November, 1831

Mémoire présentée au souverain Pontif Greg XVI, par les rédacteurs de *l'Avenir*, etc.

At this time, ignorant of the fate which others seemed to be holding in store for them, the Liberal Catholics felt the time had come to put into practice their professed doctrines, and to fight for their own justification. Happily the means were not lacking. As if to prepare for such a contingency cautious and less impulsive hands had already molded the foundations of a great bulwark, the "Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse." The organization of such an institution had been principally the work of Montalembert, but here again he had turned to La Mennais for the first impulse. In 1828 La Mennais had founded the "Association pour la défence de la Religion Catholique." This association had been

dissolved at the time of the July Revolution, and, using it as a basis, Montalembert constructed a new society of greater proportions, more ambitious, and in the end, more effective.

Boutard, II, 182

"It was a question of meeting together not to pray, nor yet to discuss, but rather to act; and to work for the defense not only of their own faith, but for every religious liberty."

Thureau Dangin, Hist. Mon., Juillet, II, 293, et seq.

At first the sole purpose of the "Agence" was to provide legal assistance to Catholics prosecuted under laws restricting their religious liberties, but later, through the influence of Montalembert, it extended its field of interest. Its organization was officially announced on the eighteenth of November, 1830—just one month after the founding of *l'Avenir*. In speaking of it La Mennais had said:

Lettres de La Menna à Montalembert, Ed. Forgues Lettre IV

"Nous avons déposé dans la société des germes qui ne seraient pas stériles; le temps les développera et les développera d'autant plus que les passions et les préjugés qui nous ont combatv ameneront plus de calamitées."

By its very name the "Agence" was a demand for another liberty promised by the Charter and until now withheld by a timorous and inefficient ministry—the right of association.

V. Charter of 1830, Art. 69

But the "Agence" aimed not only at the fulfilment of this right and the defense of religious privilege; it would also aid and encourage the faithful, and strengthen the hearts of those uncertain through the profession of a liberalism more or less anti-religious. It was governed by a Council of nine directors, Montalembert being the most prominent, and over which La Mennais, as Chairman presided. The purpose of "L'Agence" as set forth in *l'Avenir* was threefold; the bringing to trial of all cases involving the liberty of the clergy, the support of all schools of all grades against any attempted restriction of the privilege of liberty of instruction as promised in the Charter and the maintenance of the right of association.[17]

Boutard, II, 171

[17] 1. Le redressement de tout acte contre la liberté des ministres écclesiastiques par poursuites devant les chambres et devant les tribunaux.

2. Le soutien de tout établissement d'instruction primaire, secondaire, et Universitaire, contre tous les actes arbitaires, attentoires à la liberté de l'enseignement, sans laquelle il n'y avait ni charte ni religion.

3. Le maintien du droit qui appelaient à tous les francais de s'unir pour prier, pour étudier ou pour obtenir toute autre fin légitime

Such was the programme of the "Agence." How then was it received by its enemies?

"There has recently been formed an "Agence pour la défense de la liberté réligieuse," it has sent broadcast its prospectus, it is strongly recommended in a newspaper, it has selected legal defenders, and it promises to take care of the cases of harassed priests; but that is much easier in theory than in practice. No matter how great its zeal the "Agence" will have to surmount too many difficulties to arrive easily at its goal. Would any association, no matter if it be strong and more affluent than we can believe it to be, have any effect whatever against a carefully organized policy of the administration, against the orders of a Cabinet not too kindly disposed; the efforts of the irreligious party and the invectives of its newspapers?"

Ami de la Religion et du roi, Avril, 1831

This, in part, was the opinion of its most hostile adversary. But, this criticism of *l'Avenir* and the "Agence" for they were, in reality, one and the same, is only a confession of the moral weakness characteristic of the old party. Moreover, such criticism could not have any other effect than to encourage the young Catholics, and soon after its organization the "Agence" was well on the way to accomplish its aim.

V. Debridour, "E et E," 422-3

Their first interference was in behalf of two persecuted orders in the provinces. In both cases they obtained a moderate success.[18] Encouraged by even this slight evidence of their influence they developed their plans still further, and formed an affiliation of all similar organizations in France. Three directors were given various localities to supervise; Montalembert the Midi, de Coux the center and east, and Lacordaire the northwest of France. But this first act of affiliation is not the principal glory of the "Agence." Its greatest achievement

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également avantageuse à la religion, aux pauvres et à la civilization" V. *l'Avenir,* Nos. 18-19, November 1830.

[18] A republican commander at Aix had given the order to arrest every person garbed in a monk's gown, on the charge of vagrancy. This was directed against the Capuchines who had a house in Aix. "Agence" appealed to the Council of State and finally obtained the resignation of the commander and the restitution of the rights to the order. A similar incident with similar consequences occurred at Meileray. For further details V. Boutard II. 186.

is the fact that by the second act of its incorporation it gave the primary impetus to a campaign carried on against the "monopole universitaire"—a combat which was to last from the formation of the "Agence" to the year 1850, to survive Louis Philippe's fall and be actively concerned in it, to reverse at least once the channel of exterior and interior politics, and finally to be victorious under a republic. The "Agence" then began the struggle for liberty of teaching.

l' Avenir, 1 Mai., 1831

In one of the early numbers of *l'Avenir* for May, 1831, the following notice appeared:

"The 'Agence' générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse" is founding a free day school (école gratuite d'externe) without the authorization of the University, at rue Bonaparte 5, Paris. They will teach there the elements of religion, French, Latin, Greek, writing and arithmetic, and later they will add, on a more extended plan, other branches of human and divine knowledge. The "Agence" desires that this school be free, not only because it is possible, and the Christian should introduce charity wherever he can, but also because instruction in order to become universal should be free, an advantage that religion alone can procure for society."

l' Avenir, 1 Mai., 1830

"The Agence," then, was attempting to test the charter which had promised liberty of instruction, but which so far had been refused on the ground that the Napoleonic "code universitaire" was still in force, prohibiting the founding of a school without direct sanction from the Council of the University, at Paris; which body, again, should supervise all instruction therein administered. The question naturally arises, how had this article come into the Charter when existing legislation already prohibited it? This question is difficult to answer. It was doubtless the result of a compromise between the different parties, made at the time of the formation of the July Monarchy. Some would have us believe that it was due to the direct intervention of La Mennais. But as there cannot be found the slightest evidence of any such interference on his part, this assertion cannot be accepted. It is, on the other hand, quite probable that La Mennais had, by his own works, influenced certain persons already disposed

to such a change, to suggest this article. In nearly all his later works La Mennais advocated a policy of liberty of teaching. As early as 1817 this liberty had been agitated elsewhere, for, the *Mercure* of October 1817, contains an article by B. Constant on the subject. The question was again agitated in 1828 by Duchatel. Again, in 1830 Guizot and Constant published a "Mémorial en faveur de la liberté de l'Enseignement," and the two were members of an organization known as "la Société de la Morale Chrétienne." From these facts, then, it may be inferred that the leaders of the doctrinaires favoured such a change in regard to the school system.[19] Its insertion was probably the natural result of earlier discussion.

V. Especially "des Progrès de la Rev. et de la guerre contre l'Église au XIX Siecle

Thureau Dangin, E et E, 126

In 1831, then, to Montalembert, de Coux and Lacordaire fell the duty of managing the new enterprise—an "école libre" sanctioned by the 69th article of the Charter. The School was opened on the 9th of May in the presence of a great assembly, many of whom must have come out of mere curiosity. As had been foreseen by its directors, the new institution was closed by the officers of the law on May 11th, and the principals were ordered to appear before the tribunal. This was just what the "Agence" had wanted; now the Charter would be tested legally, and public opinion would be called upon to assert itself.

"We desire to set before citizens selected at random, this University that has had twenty years in which to gain the love of the families. We are all children. What had it to fear? Why has not the University asked that a jury decide between us? We who are nothing, it is we who defy it; and our challenge is, to select by lot, wherever they will, twelve fathers of families and they shall be our judges. We declare this before you, gentlemen, who are the magistrates of the country, before all those of our fellow-citizens who are here present, before all of France, and since the University will not accept, we will demand the jury to whom every political transgression is answerable."[20]

[19] V. en plus—National, 6 Mai, 1830. Article by Thiers. Furthermore, LaFayette in his proclamation to the people made them the promise of the liberty of instruction.

[20] *l'Avenir*, 4 Juin 1831.

Fate, in a curious way, seemed to favour the accused, for on the very eve of the trial, Montalembert succeeded his father in the chamber of Peers, and therefore the case was taken before the highest court of appeal in France. The Ministry demanded a condemnation and the chamber acceded, but the penalty (100 francs) was so small that the verdict practically amounted to an acquittal.[21]

The outcome of the trial had considerable effect upon the Liberal Catholics. First it brought out the distinction between the Liberals de fait and the Liberals de mot, and secondly it laid firm the foundations for the great combat of 1841-1846; the new movement was not to die out. The government, on the other hand, did not gain much profit for this litigation and the preceding one, had not added to the glory it so much needed or its reputation for the liberalism it had so loudly protested. Two articles, then, had been given a trial, and had proven utter shams; the liberty of the press, and the liberty of public instruction. The former, the Liberal Catholics had tested in concert with other papers (the *Globe* and the *Presse*) but the latter they had tried alone. In so doing they had unveiled and shown in its complete and true light the weakness and inherent hypocrisy of the existing government. This had given heart to the Liberals and had assisted them in their own programme. Had Louis Philippe and his ministers but followed their advice many unpleasant complications might have been avoided, and La Mennais' party might have been of great service to the France of 1830.

The entire interest of *l'Avenir* and the "Agence" however, had not been centered about the trial alone. In a few months the "Agence" had made magnificent progress; its membership had been more than doubled, and the Council, having affiliated the various provincial organizations of a similar sort in France, was not content with this work. They now proceeded to put into operation a plan they had long had in prospect, and one which in a single instance at least, did enjoy permanent success. Formerly the "Agence" had de-

[21] A propos of the trial Boutard II 197 relates an interesting incident: "M. de Coux parla après M. de Montalembert, et il fut moins heureux. Un mot lui échappa qui déchaina dans la chambre haute une telle tempête qu'il dut renouncer à son plaidoyer. . . . Il avait désigné Louis Philippe par cette periphrase le roi provisoire de la France."

clared itself the defenders of the oppressed, and by this it had been understood that its officers meant to protect the oppressed in France. Now, however, it became evident that they wished to extend their influence to all parts of Europe and the new world as well. Branch societies were established throughout Christendom. M. de Coux was given charge of Belgium and the United States; Lacordaire of Switzerland and Italy; and Montalembert of Poland, Sweden, Germany and Ireland. The plan was to seize upon the liberal movement already active in these countries, and catholicise it. Such a policy became known as the Liberal Catholic system of "international ultramontanism." Boutard, II, 201

It was in Belgium, especially, that the "Agence" had most success. *l'Avenir* and its illustrious editor were very popular in that country. In fact, it is said that many of the articles appearing in *l'Avenir* on one day were reprinted on the morrow in a similar paper at Louvain. Now Belgium, like France, had had a revolution, but there was this distinction: one of the fundamental causes had been of a religious nature, the incompatibility of the citizens in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, one half of whom were Roman Catholics and one half Protestants. Furthermore, the Roman Catholics were liberals, and when the Revolution broke out they applied the doctrines of La Mennais—of whose ideas they had long since expressed sincere approval. *l'Avenir*, 10 Avril, 1831 *l'Avenir*, 30 Oct., 1830

A correspondent from Brussels wrote:

"En France les doctrines libérales n'approchent du sanctuaire qu'avec une sorte de timidité. En Belgique, au contraire, elles montent jusqu'à l'autel avec le prêtre et en déscendent avec lui pour se répandre, en même temps que sa parole . . . . Ici, on ne conçoit pas la religion séparée de la liberté."[22] *l'Avenir*, 5 Août, 1831

Many times in the later struggle, champions of religious liberty were to point with eager and envious hand to the Kingdom of Belgium.

[22] The same writer further points out the similarity of the two in their common opposition to Gallicanism, by the following statement: "Rien de plus incompréhensible pour un belge qu'um prêtre Gallican." *l'Avenir* 5 Août 1831.

This close religious alliance was further cemented by the very evident desire of the French government to have a friendly and peaceful neighbour. In regard to Belgium, then the July Monarchy and the Liberal Catholics were at one. Not so the Gallicans, however, who complained bitterly and regretted the old régime in Belgium as well as in France Moreover, outside of France there were parties who, while upholding the existing monarchy, condemned its policy and the propaganda of certain of its parties:

Ami de la Religion et du roi, 10 Février, 1831

"France has too extensive an idea of her duty if she imagines herself called upon to prevent intervention in every part of the world as well as in Belgium. The new State of Belgium borders upon her territory and an aggression on her neighbours to put down principles which were common to both would be an aggression against France. But Poland is not in the same predicament It lies at the distance of several hundred miles from France with the barrier of Germany interposed. To send an army to Warsaw would therefore necessarily kindle the flames of a whole continent. If Don Quixote had redressed only the wrongs of his own village he might not have been a hero, but he would have avoided the commission of mischief and the charge of madness in his erratic excursion to find and redress them."

London *Times*, April, 16, 1831

It is true, there were many eyes in France turned toward the struggling Poles, but, in the end, the government was not to heed the appeals made in their behalf. Two parties principally led this agitation, the Liberal Catholics and their now somewhat suspicious allies, the Republicans. The "Agence" and its party watched with many heart-burnings and great interest the progress of events in that kingdom, and gave them their moral support, their prayers, and even a certain amount of financial assistance. Montalembert had signalled the commencement of the struggle in the following terms:

V, *l'Avenir*, Nos., 16 Avril et 17 Sept., 1831

"At last she has uttered her cry of awakening, at last she has shaken off her chains and threatens with them the heads of her barbarous oppressors, this proud and generous Poland, so slandered, so oppressed, so dear to all free and Catholic hearts."

l'Avenir, 12 Dec., 1830

Some, too, of his more bold associates would have joined with LaFayette and the Republicans who sought to lend force to aid a people struggling with a cruel tyrant. One party favoured it as a fight for nationality and political liberty while the other cried out in its behalf for these reasons and also because it was a struggle against the "nationalization" of a Catholic faith.[23] The former, through LaFayette, based their plea on the nation's safety:

"Whenever any country in Europe, whatever it may be, attempts to recover its rights, it is a direct act of hostility against us to interfere, not only because it revives the principles of Pilnitz and the Holy Alliance, and justifies future aggression against our liberty and independence, but because common sense assures us that it is the same as saying: 'Wait, we are going to crush your national auxiliaries, the friends of liberty in other countries, and when they have ceased to exist, we will fall upon you with our whole weight.' "[24]

Once more the government's selfish policy was demonstrated. A weak show of compliance with so many demands was all it attempted. This attitude did not help the July Monarchy. Russia, more distrustful than ever, kept aloof from Louis Philippe.

In Germany and in Italy, too, the influence of the "Agence" was felt. There will be a better occasion to note its relations with Italy in the next chapter. Among the German states there was already in operation a sort of government bureaucracy which sought to limit the influence of Rome in church affairs. The distinction between Old and Young Catholics was increased by the growth of the Jung Deutschland School. In Munich the Doellinger group under the

V, *l'Avenir*, No. 1 Mars et Avril, 1831

[23] Le Mennais, their leader, was to utter a year later these powerful words on the fate of Poland: "Je vois un peuple combattre comme l'archange Michel combattoit contre Satan. Ses coups sont terribles, mais il est nu, et son ennemi est convert d'une épaisse armure. O Dieu! il tombe; il est frappé à mort, non, il n'est que blessé: Marie, la Vierge—mère, l'enveloppe de son manteau, lui sourit, et l'importe pour un peu de temps hors de combat." Paroles d'un Croyant. II.

V, *l'Avenir* Nos. 1 Mars et 15 Avril, 1831

[24] Commenting on this statement the *London Times* remarked: "The gallant general has here laid down too extensive a scale of duty for his country." *London Times,* Jan. 18, 1831.

name of the "Round Table" were seeking to combat government influence, and were eagerly watching the progress of affairs in France. Later, they were to become the hosts of La Mennais and the first to console him in the dark hour of his condemnation. Still farther north as well, the influence of the "Agence" had spread and was aiding in the re-establishment of the old Swedish priesthood, while in Ireland, the Liberal Catholics displayed keen interest, and solicited subscriptions for the cause of O'Connell's famished countrymen. This last interest did not disappear with the dissolution of the "Agence."

Boutard, II, 214

It was at the very moment when all seemed to be progressing so well and when the Liberal Catholics appeared to be weathering the storms around them, that *l'Avenir* published what has been known as its "testament publique." Having established their power the Liberal Catholics now sought to bind it by a great political union. It proved to be the last great public act of *l'Avenir,* and by this act alone it fell. In appearance the "Acte d'Union" must have seemed immense, even grotesque; in reality, it was the logical development of their principle of "international ultramontanism" declared some months before, and La Mennais' traditional love of order.

The "Acte" is divided into three parts, a consideration of the spiritual rights of society, of its temporal rights and, the consequent duty of the State. In the first section, basing the argument entirely on the ground that the spiritual side of society must be separate and absolutely independent of intervention on the part of the political power, the "Acte" establishes the right of liberty of conscience and belief (culte), of liberty of the press, and of instruction. In Part II, these three rights being established, constitutional power (government) has only the right to intervene in temporal affairs. But here again the government's power should be so limited that it does not prevent those personally interested from taking part in the administration of local affairs. The government should always remember that its principal duties are those of maintaining political unity, a general and agreeable harmony between the various particular administrations, of

safeguarding the general interest and supervising the defense of the State. All these other things accepted, Part III recommends a more extensive application of the law of justice and charity even to the point of educating and preparing the masses that they may, by degrees, be enabled to participate more and more in all the social privileges due them.[25]

The "Acte d'Union" was indeed for France the Magna Charta of the nineteenth century.

Such was the document that brought forth protestations of horror from ministers of state, prelates at Rome and kings who heretofore had prided themselves on their quasi-liberal policies. To the eyes of the Twentieth Century, and to our own country in particular, it seems little more than common sense—a reformed and spiritualized church; a liberal and republican form of government. But to those of 1830 it conjured up all the terrors and petty ambitions of the Revolution, the slaughters and pitiless tyrannies of Napoleon, of a Church which would not serve their purpose and of a God whose real attributes most of them had forgotten. The "Acte d'Union" was an anachronism, the ideals of its authors were past the narrow comprehension of the early nineteenth century. The State had lived so long from its very creators that it no longer knew them; the Church had wandered so far from its flock that it mistook them for the greedy inheritors of its enemies in 1790. This was the situation, La Mennais had been completely misunderstood. A farcical examination followed, and then a papal bull. Here again, La Mennais' actions were misunderstood. There has been talk of forged letters and the deception of a papal legate, but these must be left aside, for there is not sufficient evidence to substantiate such assertions. But this evidence, in turn, is really unnecessary for the subsequent action of La Mennais at this time (November, 1831) is a sufficient justification of his faith and a proof that he did not know that his works had the disapproval of the one who was for him the highest authority. Letters had come from Rome, but the same words had come from *Ami de la Religion et du roi* and from the French gov-

[25] "For the Acte d'Union" in toto V. Appendix I.

ernment. He knew not where he stood. Peter's successor had remained silent.

The rest of the story is quickly told. Alarmed by the uproar they saw around them, by the unmistakable signs of hostility from the higher clergy in France and by the demands of the Conservative majority, the Liberal Catholics resolved to go to Rome, following the advice of their youngest member. In November, the last number of *l'Avenir* appeared:

"If we retire from the field for a moment, we do not do so because of weariness or still less, because of discouragement, but simply to follow the example of the soldiers of Israel in other times, to go to consult the Lord in Shiloh. Our faith and our intentions have been questioned. In fact, at this time, who is not attacked? We leave, therefore, for a brief time, the field of battle in order to fulfill another duty equally important. The staff of the pilgrim in our hands, we will journey to the Eternal City and there, prostrate at the feet of the Pontiff whom Jesus Christ had appointed as a guide and master to his disciples, we will say: "O Father, look upon a few of your flock who are accused of being rebellious to your infallible authority; here they are before you, read their minds; there is nothing that they would hide. If even one of their thoughts is contrary to yours, they will disavow it forever. You are the rule of their theories; indeed they have never known another. O Father, pronounce for them the word that gives life, because it gives light, and may thy hand extend to bless their faithfulness and their love.'"[26]

l'Avenir, 15 Nov., 1831

Later, La Mennais said:

"En France on n'a des yeux que derrière la tête. As far as my theories are concerned, I believed then and I still believe that we have not advocated any others than those upheld by the Holy See. If I am mistaken, they will tell me, and I will cry from the housetops their words. While waiting, we will be silent."

But painful revelations awaited at Rome "the pilgrims of God and of Liberty."

V, Giraud Corres. Inéd. de La Mennais Revue des deux mondes 1 Nov., 1905

[26] *Ami de la Religion et du roi* announced the immediate condemnation of *l'Avenir* with a malice hardly pardonable. For this controversy see: *Ami de la Religion et du roi*, 17 Novembre 1831. Also *Ami de la Religion et du roi*, Lettre de Waille, 26 November 1831.

CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF THE LA MENNAIS MOVEMENT

Shortly before leaving Paris La Mennais had remarked: "This accursed politics is everywhere the ruin of religion," and his biographer has commented: "this observation, only too true, reveals the malentendu that already existed between La Mennais and the Court of Rome."

E. Forgues Corres. Ined. I, II. Boutard, II, 269

Subsequent facts bear out this statement; the craving for power still existed in the Eternal City. But, there is still another sense in which the abbé Boutard's comment is true. The malentendu existed also between La Mennais and the Court of France. It is a curious and yet none the less typical fact that La Mennais when the Acte d'Union was promulgated, had not taken, or else did not wish to take, into consideration the political conditions in his own country. If he had done so it is not unreasonable to suppose that he would have waited. Truly, in this instance he had not well calculated his time. "The Acte d'Union" had been formulated while the ministry of the "mouvement" was still in power, but that body was now fast approaching the time of its fall. The Period of Formation was over, and the Period of Parliamentary struggle was already beginning. Louis Philippe, alarmed when he found that he could not make peace at home and abroad through the efforts of the progressives, had decided to call the "Ré sistance" to power. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of March he formed a more severe and more forceful ministry; the monarchy could no longer afford to waste time with a weak and indefinite party. At home they needed a strong resistance to the recriminations of the Republicans and Legitimists; abroad a ministry, capable of settling the difficult questions of Belgium and the London Conference, powerful enough to strengthen the English alliance, and above all to adopt a consistent and definite attitude. This new government, it was

V. London *Times*, March 16, 1831. Dispatch from Paris

Moniteur, 18 Mars, 1831

V. Hillebrand, I, 213

hoped, would explain to uneasy Europe, considering further concerted action against liberal governments, the meaning of that ambiguous term—"non-intervention."[1] A policy of deceit was no longer possible. The man whom the king chose as prime minister, was a typical bourgeois whose creed was his class and his king. Like his predecessor, a banker, Casimir Perier would not, so the king thought, be unmindful of the economic needs of the country—a question becoming more serious every day. To a certain extent Louis Philippe was not deceived in this; Casimir Perier was considerate of the large vested interests. The new minister possessed at least the quality of exactness; he was stubborn to an extreme, and the country soon had reason to believe that he would not choose a middle course in regard to any one policy.[2] His plan, therefore, was typical and his view of the July Monarchy may be said to be the view of his class. For the July Revolution, he had agreed with his confrères in the following statement: "We have not had a revolution, we have experienced only a slight change in the person at the head of the State." So much for his attitude to the monarchy expressed in the characteristically clear and concise form. He had also upheld the principle of a double policy; for France order and authority without any restriction of liberty, for external affairs a beneficial peace because, as he put it, "French blood belongs to France alone." With this in view he selected his colleagues, the great majority of whom belonged to his own

O. Barrot, Memoirs, I, 215. Dupin, Memoirs, II, 218. de Barante, Lettres, 7 Mars, 1831. L. Blanc, I, 414

[1] This Perier proceeded to do in his first speech before the Parl. V. Perier Discours, 18 Mars 1831.

[2] The new régime possessed all the strength that can possibly belong to the mendacity of early concessions, it was founded and nothing remained but to defend it. The natural course of things therefore called a violent minister to office. . . . He entered it with an immense stock of angry passions, a pride without bounds, a certain fierce impatience to trample on his enemies. An opulent banker and always on the alert, the noise of factions had caused him mortal alarms and he burned to avenge the anguish of his fears. . . . Fully convinced however, that in saving the interests of the middle class he would serve his own, he threw his whole existence into the conflict. The crown too he wished to save, and he rushed to its defense, but without illusion, devotedness or love, and simply because he chose to support in royalty an institution protective to banking interests." L. Blanc. I. 412 and Chap. IX. Bk. IV.

party, while he was aided to some extent in the chambers by Guizot, Dupin and Thiers.[3]

7 Mars, de Barante, 1831 L. Blanc, I, 414

The first interest of the new Premier was to silence the Republican party who, during the preceding administration had made such violent complaints against the pacific policy of the government. He attacked the Society of the Peoples' Friend, really a revival of the old Jacobin Club; its members, Cavaignac, Teste and Fortou, were prosecuted, but they were finally acquitted. Thereupon the Premier persuaded Louis Philippe to dissolve the Chambers. Accordingly, the dissolution was announced for the last day of May and new elections were ordered for the fifth day of July. The Chambers, however, were not dissolved before they had passed a new law (April 15) reducing the franchise and doubling the electorate. There were now 200,000 electors out of a total population of 30,000,000. Shortly afterward the riots of the 14th of June and 14th of July occurred, the latter beginning at the Bastile, as had happened some forty years before. Moreover if the Premier did not succeed in the impeachment of the Republicans in April, the returns of the July elections only served to heighten his anxiety; and abroad, as in France, people began to fear for the dynasty.

Thureau Dangin, II, 29

Outside the borders of France matters were not much better, and the position of Louis Philippe's government was consequently less secure.

"Poland tottering to its fall, and threatening to bring down with it the old preponderance of the West; the Papacy violently reinstated in its temporal sovereignty, and thereby become once more the accomplishment of all earthly tyrannies; four powers labouring hard to repair, to the detriment of one, the European balance which had been disturbed by the emancipation of Belgium, lastly France abandoning the guardianship of the world to the hands of some proud and incompetent men."

v. London *Times*, June 23, 1831 Dispatch from Paris

[3] Casimir—President of the Council, Minister of Interior.
M. Barette—Garde des sceaux.
Baron Louis—Minister of Finance.
Maréchal Soult—Minister of War.
l'Amiral Rigny—Minister of Marine.
Comte de Montalivet—Minister of Public Instruction and Sects.
Conte d'Argent—Minister of Commerce and Public Works.

These were the conditions confronting the new chambers when they convened to hear the king's speech on July 23rd. Of many important questions such as the Italian States, the London Conference and the hopeless attitude of the government to Poland, that discussed by the Deputies most fully concerned the abolition of hereditary peerage.[4] This project had not the entire sympathy of Perier, nor of such of his satellites as Guizot, Thiers and Royer-Collard; but the bourgeoisie were so persistent in their demand for the revision of Article Twenty-three of the Charter that, in the end, a law was proposed providing for a system of nomination by the king from a legally constituted list of eminent men and men already in office. The law aroused, of course, bitter opposition among the nobles, but Casimir Perier's reply to their protest was the Royal Ordinance of November 19th creating thirty-six new peers. By means of this, the law, slightly changed, was passed. The discussion attending the new law, however, brought with it another evil, the renewed activity of the Legitimists exhorted by such men as Chateaubriand and Berryer. Their leaders, happily for Perier, were not men fit to be political agitators and, except for the affair of La Vendée and the duchesse de Berri episode, no other signs of hostility appeared. But all these incidents, however small in importance they may have seemed, were none the less significant, and had the opposition been more centralized and less divided, the July Monarchy might have been seriously endangered. There are, in addition, two events that assume a still greater importance in the calendar of the political progress made under Louis Philippe. Between November 22 and December 30, 1831, occurred the revolt of the silk weavers at Lyons, and a few months later a similar revolt at Grenoble. The importance of these two uprisings lies in the fact that they are the signs of the birth of a socialist party, springing from the general discontent prevalent in France because of economic changes, and also from the divisions in the Republicans and St. Simonians. This new party, about a score of years later, was to play a principal rôle in the formation of a new government.

L. Blanc, I,

[4] For an ex. of the agitation upon this subject v.: "Are 100,000 citizens 30,000,000 of men?" Cormenin, 1831.

At the same time, however, that Perier was busied in a vain attempt to establish order and prosperity in France, other events were happening outside her borders, which were of equal importance to her future. The Polish question had been treated by Louis Philippe in a cowardly fashion, and Casimir Perier could not have altered the results of this policy even had he wished to do so. But there remained the difficult questions of the new kingdom of Belgium and of the Italian States.

Metternich, I, 44

L. Blanc, II 457, et seq

Upon the separation of Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands in August 1830, the Congress of London took the matter up, and the Five Powers agreed to settle the problem according to their common interests. The Belgians had themselves offered the crown to the duc d'Aumale, but Louis Philippe had not allowed his son to accept it. This action was somewhat of a relief to the rest of Europe. The Congress subsequently offered the throne in the name of the provisional government at Brussels to Leopold of Coburg; and he accepted, not without first concluding a secret agreement of friendship and marriage with the Orleans family. The Congress then imagined that its work was ended, but such was not the case. For William of the Netherlands protested against the treaty of the Eighteen Articles, and renouncing the Armistice of November 5, 1830, entered Belgium. Thereupon Louis Philippe sent a French army to the aid of Leopold. The act, an idea of Casimir Perier, created great consternation in Europe, for, it was construed as a direct violation of the principle of "non-intervention," as they understood it. Later, after order had been restored, the French army withdrew, but not until the king of the Netherlands had retired to the lines agreed upon the beginning of the armistice. Shortly afterwards, the Congress at London drew up the treaty of the Twenty-four Articles (November 5th), and the signature of King William was all that was necessary to assure peace.

v. d'Haussonville Hist, I. Ch. IV

Bourgeois, III, Ch. I

Moniteur, Mars. 15-30, Août 18-30, Nov. 18-30

So ended the year 1831. In France the aspects were not good, discontent with the internal policy and a growing hostility to the government increased by the pursuit of the Republicans. With the foreign policy, also, there was equal disgust, particularly at the attempt to make a nominal show

London *Times*, Nos. for Nov. 18-31

of force which had been judged rather mal à propos by the several countries interested.

The year 1832 opened dismally; the flattering felicitations paid to the king had not kept from the ears of the government the noise of riots and street fighting, such as those of the Fourth of January, the Tours de Notre Dame—a Republican Conspiracy—and the Legitimist Revolt of the rue des Prouvaires the fourth of February. Discontent was everywhere manifest. Armand Carrel had not hesitated to put into print his Republican sentiments, Béranger's verses were distributed widespread, and Perier knew that the prosecution of the press alone would not stop the progress of a movement so dangerous to him and to France.[5]

Furthermore, the question of the budget would soon be coming before the Chambers; the people must be distracted and their eyes turned in another direction during the discussion of so serious a matter. Then too, Perier scented another danger. That same demand for military conquest that had appeared at such regular intervals so many times before, was gaining its hold on the people and making them impatient. Perier knew he must satisfy this craving or the French might come again to regret the "glorious days" of the Revolution. It was Italy and the Pope that offered him the occasion for

[5] The following extract from Béranger is interesting as a type of the political verse of the period:

"Comme un bon rêve es tu donc disparue,
O Liberté si chère à mes refrains!
Perier gouverne, et la France est vendue,
Peuple géant subit le joug des nains,
Gisquet t'assomme et Vienne t'emparé
Vient te donner le coup de pied de l'âne;
Pauvre Lion, n'es tu pas musélé?

Rassurez-vous, Castillon et Tartare,
Peu vous importe ici le genre humain,
Il ne s'agit que d'aider un avare
A dépouiller un Royal orphelin.
Vous le voyez, c'est pour cette oeuvre unique
Que notre sang dans Paris a coulé.
Mourrez Pologne, languissez Belgique,
Notre Lion, n'est-il pas musélé?"

—From "Le Lion Musélé."

which he was seeking. Moreover, in deciding to take a hand in Italian affairs Perier hoped to accomplish two things, to satisfy the general demand and to render himself more secure. An intervention in Italy would be interpreted at home as the upholding of the right of a state to settle its own affairs. Austria was interfering in Italy; a protest on the part of the government would be a pose of liberalism for the July Monarchy, and an armed intervention redound to its glory. Then too there was still another advantage; by taking part in Italian troubles Perier would be embarrasing the protests of the liberals at home. This would be safe, for, he might ask the Pope to grant political liberties, but he certainly did not expect the Pope to accede to his request. Furthermore he would render null and void any encouragement that the liberal faction in the Roman Catholic Church might have intended to offer in France to "those other liberals, those very members of the clergy who, lacking good education and knowing only the practices of religion, hated the present liberal institutions of France and attacked society "in general," and against whom so much was now being said in the Chamber of Deputies."

v. *National*, 2 Janvier, 1832

Moniteur, 17 Février, 1831

In regard to the church Perier, if he took any definite stand at all, was with the more numerous and less active party of Gallicans.[6] This new interest of the Perier Ministry, then, was not to assist the cause of La Mennais, and whether it was intentional or no, the Premier's policy had a direct effect on the fate of the three editors of *l'Avenir*. It was to serve a threefold purpose, then, to the eyes of his countrymen—to satisfy the malcontents by a show of "gloire"; to quiet the extreme Liberals in Italy whose constant agitation had served to keep alert the ultra-liberals—the party "du mouvement," and lastly, to strike once and for all the Holy Alliance based on the principle of interference and in defiance of

v. also 21 Février, 1831

[6] He is said to have remarked: "La liberté des cultes sera protégée comme le droit le plus précieux de conscience qui l'invoquent." (Thureau-Dangin. Mon. Juilet II. 68.) But, under his ministery the "Ecole Libre" had been condemned and the "Acte d'Union" protested against. Furthermore certain numbers of *Ami de la Religion et du roi* (April 1831—January 1832) speak of the Premier in favorable terms: "On assure qu'il blâme les vexations exercées en tant de lieu contre le clergé."

which Perier had inaugurated a policy of non-intervention. In the eyes of the Premier, however, this diplomacy was to serve a much smaller end—that of a mere distraction. The inconsistency of such a policy is patent; why should Perier object to the Austrian interference in the rebellion of the Legations when he himself had allowed France to intervene in Belgium? The fight, then, was not one of high principles, it was directed solely against Austrian influence in Bologna, the Romagna and the Marches. It was a good time for action; Russia was occupied with Poland, Prussia with the West and England was Protestant.

Hillebrand, II, 203

One author has said: "Civil War is the only word that will describe the condition of Italy and the Papal States during the years 1820-1848." Italy, reduced to a geographical expression by the treaties of 1814-1815, composed of two large kingdoms, the Papal States, and a number of duchies, had become a real center of restlessness, but it was particularly in the Legations that this condition prevailed. They had hoped for a Liberal Pope. Taught by Gioberti they had even dreamed of a theocratic republic, such as La Mennais had predicted for them, but to no avail. In November 1830, Pius VIII died and the College of Cardinals was convened. They had been in session two months disputing the demand of Albani, Austria's creature, that the successful candidate should upon his election appoint him as Papal Secretary, when a message was secretly introduced into the Conclave from the Duke of Modena. In this he informed the wrangling prelates that a serious revolution had broken out in the Romagna. Thus the election was finally precipitated, and the fourth of February 1831 Cardinal Capellari ascended St. Peter's throne. He took the name of Gregory XVI. Upon his accession the new pope found himself entirely without means to put down the rebellion, and he was forced to turn at once to the sole consistent defender of "Legitimacy and the Temporal Supremacy of the Pope"—Austria, still ruled by Metternich. The Austrian troops entered the Papal States. Immediately France, through its ambassador M. de Sainte-Aulaire, protested, and Austria agreed to withdraw her troops. It was decided that order should be maintained in the Legations

Barry, VIII, 217

Guizot, II, 292

Metternich, IV, 122 Seq

Barante, IV, Lettres, 27 Mars, 1831. Dep. Off. No. 45, 1831

by the guarantee of the Powers, and by July 1831 the troops had evacuated the Romagna. Furthermore, by an official note (May 1831) the Powers recommended to the Pope that he try to ameliorate the conditions in the Papal States. This he promised to do, but his promises amounted to very little and the condition of the Legations was not improved in any way. A conference of the ambassadors to France was then held in Paris, and it was suggested that a State be named which should assist the Pope, as the Papal forces seemed incapable of themselves overpowering the rebels in the very likely event of further trouble. Perier nominated the Kingdom of Sardinia but the Powers held that Sardinia was not strong enough. The French Premier then announced that should Austria intervene in the event of another revolt, France would find it necessary to take Ancona as a guarantee. Thus one fact, at least, is evident, the warning had been given and the taking of Ancona could not have been the unexpected event they pretended at Rome.

Memorandum de Casimir Perier sur l'occupation d'Ancône

Dep. Off. No. 75

Memorandum C. Perier

d'Haussonville Hist., I, 32 et seq

Perier had hailed the withdrawal of the Austrians as a moral victory for French diplomacy, but this happy illusion was not to last long. On the first of December the Ministry was interpellated by the Chamber of Deputies on the subject of the Legations and Perier again reasserted the principles of "non-intervention" as he understood it—that France would not allow other powers to intervene in the affairs of free and independent states. This word, it is thought, gave courage to the Italian Liberals, and before the end of the year, Menotti, Mazzini and their party had stirred up another revolution.[7] The Austrian troops again crossed the border, while Metternich once more explained this action by saying that they had

v. *Moniteur*, 18-20 Juillet, 1831
Journal des Debate, 19 Juillet, 1831

[7] A propos of Perier's remarks (December 2) Metternich is said to have commented: "C'est ce mot de non-intervention qui a donné aux revolutionnaires Italiens le courage de tenter la fortune." Bourgeois III 68.

"The reports from Tenera, Modena, Florence and every other quarter, unanimously give expression to the opinion that the whole Italian revolution is due solely to the action of the Paris committees based on the assertion of the principle of non-intervention." Metternich Mem. V. to Apponyi, March 18, 1831—Dep. Off. 990.

Moniteur, 2 December, 1831

to come to put down a Bonapartist uprising near the frontier of France[8] There can be no doubt but that he was trying to discredit the French in general as well as to show in particular the weakness of the July Monarchy's position and policy. His instructions to his own ambassadors bear out this impression. In reality, he was already active in discrediting France at the Court of Rome with the result that when the French troops did enter Ancona the Pope believed that they had come to incite rebellion.

Metternich, V, 10 Fév., 1832
Off. Desp., 1049, I

The thirty-first of January M. Perier had sent a despatch to M. de Barante, ambassador at Turin, announcing the departure of a detachment for Ancona;

"Monsieur le baron,

I have just received the despatch with which you have honoured me, telling me of the entrance of the Austrians into the Romagna. I hasten to send a courier to M. de Sainte-Aulaire instructing him to demand the cession "de la place et du port" of Ancona to our force, of land and sea; a measure to which the Court of Rome has already actually acceded."

Dep. Off., No. 69, 31 Janv., 1832

This is a curious document, for it presents a rather interesting point. Had Gregory XVI, in sympathy with the "parti de résistance," intimated to Sainte Aulaire his consent to the French occupation of Ancona? Unfortunately, as far as can be found, there are only a few facts to substantiate this suggestion, and they are all indirect witnesses. The first is the condition of the Papal Department of State. There had never existed a clearly defined understanding between Gregory XVI and Bernetti, the Papal Secretary. In fact, throughout the Pontificate of Gregory, the Pope's own statements to individuals and the official declarations of the Roman Court were absolutely contradictory, and seldom, if ever, at one. The second indication of the existence of some sort of an understanding between Louis Philippe and the Pope, is the fact that the French officers, Gaullois and Combes, gained access to the citadel of Ancona by telling the commander that they had come with the consent of the Pope. All

Journal des Debats, Feb. 15, 1831

Affaires de Rome, 119

Boutard, II, 313

[8] V. Metternich to Apponyi. March 9, 1831, Dep. Off. 998. *Cf.* with later reference. Mem. V.

histories agree on this point and are corroborated by Casimir Perier's memorandum. The third piece of evidence is still more indirect. Shortly afterwards the Pope made a bargain with the Tsar; in return for his advice to the Poles to submit, the Tsar was to aid Gregory against his enemies. If France was in Ancona without authorization why did not Gregory call upon the Austrians to put them out? They would have been only too delighted to have done so. Why did he call in a third person, unless he was legally impeded from asking Austria to oust the French? The reasonable inference, it seems, is that the Pope tacitly allowed the French to enter as well as the Austrians, and that he may have verbally communicated this decision to M. de Sante Aulaire. The French troops once ensconced in Ancona, Gregory mildly protested, but to no avail, and by the arrangement of April 16, 1832, it was agreed that the French should remain in Ancona until the Austrians had evacuated the Legations.[9]

Debidour, "E et E," 425

London *Times*, Feb. 25, 1832

What, then, was the result of this complication? From the point of view of foreign politics it did not strengthen the position of the French government. Metternich had gained his end, he had discredited one of the fundamental doctrines of the July Monarchy and displayed its shameless inconsistency.[10]

This opinion, furthermore, was held by other countries as well. So it was that by the Ancona affair Metternich accomplished the first step in his twofold plan to abolish the quasi-

[9] The troops stayed until 1838.

[10] "The French government establishes a new principle; the principle of intervention in everything, which is in direct contradiction with the principle of non-intervention, which has been the political programme of France since 1830. If non-intervention was folly, the new political code is a menace; neither the one nor the other will ever acquire the force of law in the Code of Nations.

"The French circular, however, will have two useful results, the first is the inference which the Italian Liberals will draw from it, that the French government is false to them in their expectations; the second lies in the fact that at every honourable opportunity, any independent government will have the right of employing it for its own ends, at the cost of those who first enunciated and applied the principle in all its attendant consequences." Metternich, Mem. V. to Apponyi, March 9, 1832, Desp. Off. 1033.

v. London *Times*, March 6, 1832

liberal appearances Louis Philippe gave himself and to teach that monarch the principles of Legitimacy, or else if he failed, in the former, to destroy the July Monarchy entirely. Later he wrote to Lutzow—ambassador in Rome—a letter which is almost the proof of this intention, and in which he decries the contradictory character of the July Monarchy and the weakness of its moral and material calibre, laid bare once again by the Ancona affair to which it had nearly succumbed.[11]

Metternich's plan succeeded. The Ancona fiasco proved France's worth—the real value of an over-ambitious pride and of a too eager desire for military glory. Perier too had followed the middle course without knowing it, and in France,

B. Sarrans, II, 301

at least for a time, there was contentment. The Premier had gained his point, the budget was passed—it was a veritable "coup de tête." But this distraction of Perier's was to have few results and subsequent events have seemed to show that France gained nothing from it. This, it is very likely, had been the real purpose of Perier. Ancona, then, served as a mere distraction and it was a dear one for Louis Philippe. One base of his monarchy was swept from under him, while the liberals, realizing the jingoism of the entire affair, became more enraged than ever at the latest loss of credit for France in the eyes of the world. The Ancona policy had made Austria all the more powerful in Rome, while Metternich's damning assertions increased Gregory's mild apprehension of the French to the point of actual fear and led him to call in still another power against her. It proved a mere show of force for nothing. Louis Philippe the liberal king was one step nearer his conversion to a "Bourbon policy" through the blindness of his ministers to Metternich's tactics. And, "a Bourbon" policy was one of the predecessors of his fall.

[11] "The Ancona affair is the logical expression of the golden mean, that doctrine which always couples a vast amount of the thoughtlessness with a grain of reason, a want of consideration with an affirmation. This affair is the symptom of the malady which is ravaging the world; it proves, by the clearest evidence, what are the real tendencies of situations abounding in contradictions; lastly, *it gages the moral and material calibre of the 'government of the glorious days,' and proves what the authority of the powers really amounts to.*" Metternich, Mem. v. to Lutzow, April 3, 1832, Off. Desp. 1054.

There was also another sense in which Perier was to gain and France to lose, and this was the effect of the Ancona situation on the Liberal Roman Catholic Movement, as represented by La Mennais, Montalembert and Lacordaire who had reached Rome. The situation just discussed has shown what Powers were the most influential at the Court of Rome, those very States that had tried so hard to discredit France in the eyes of the Pope and to maintain the continuance of a reactionary policy in Italy, and to whose eyes the principles of the Holy Alliance seemed sacred. How did these influential Powers look upon La Mennais? He seemed to them the reincarnation of the Ancona policy in another sphere. Austria, of course, by its very position was opposed to *l'Avenir* and its views. What could Metternich, the very embodiment of two ancient principles, Legitimacy and the Temporal Power of the Papacy, have in common with La Mennais, the champion of a Republicanism hateful to the old régime and the advocate of an Ultromontanism utterly incomprehensible to the men of the Ancient Régime? The same question may be asked of the king of Prussia, who sought to subordinate religion to a state affair and in whose eyes Doellinger and the Round Table found but little favour. . As for the Tsar of Russia, his attitude to Louis Philippe is well known. He disliked the Frenchmen of the July Revolution, and it may well be imagined how much more he would hate La Mennais who not only professed liberal ideas but sought to put them to practical use as well; a Republican who must, then, agree with LaFayette's speech on Poland, an Ultramontane who could not favour the diminished authority of Rome in Poland due to its submission to Russian power. With this in mind it is not surprising to read that La Mennais and his two friends were preceded to Rome by diplomatic notes from these three powers advising the Pope to condemn once and for all those revolutionaries who sought to preach revolt in the name of religion. But, this charge was unjust, and how selfish their attitude! For, after all, where can it be shown that La Mennais or his school ever preached revolt from the Papacy to the Italian Liberals? They had written in favour of changes in Belgium, Poland, Germany, and Ireland, but

Affaires de Rome, 15-16, Boutard, II, 284

l'Avenir, 30 Août, 1831

l'Avenir, 1 Mars, 1831

it is difficult to see just where any direct attack on Italy or against the Pope was made. Had the Powers founded their charge upon any substantial facts, they might, with a certain amount of reason, have warned the Pope. But they did not trouble even to search for evidence, they merely made the charge and were listened to, if not by Gregory XVI himself, at least by Bernetti, his secretary of State. Once only had *l'Avenir* shown itself at all severe in the discussion of events in Italy. This was à propos of the amnesty granted in 1831 by Gregory XVI to the rebellious liberals, when a criticism of this action appeared in the journal and concluded: "en un mot, toutes les règles de la justice criminelle sont oubliées dans cet acte, qui, grâce à Dieu, émane du pro-secrétaire d'État, ministre du prince temporel et non du chef des chrétiens."[12] In interpreting this comment to the Pontiff in the light of a rebellious and overbold criticism the Powers must have forgotten that they had displayed their own disapproval and doubt as to the efficacy of Papal politics when at Paris they tried to nominate a power that should enforce the Pope's will.[13] What La Mennais had hoped for in Italy was a liberal revolution which would end in its unification, under the Pope himself. "Purer hands than yours must lay the foundation of liberty in a country," were the words addressed to the Italian Liberals.[14]

Ibid.

But it was not only with diplomatic notes from these powers that the Court of Rome was besieged. Charges came from France as well; from the émigrés in Italy and from a government in France that displayed unmistakable "résistance" sympathy and therefore was more amenable to the extreme conservatives some of whom were Carlists. It is to be remembered that Casimir Perier had been praised by *l'Ami de la Religion et du roi.* Cardinal de Rohan was the leader of the Carlist party at Rome. He was a strong Legitimist and therefore, a member of the "petite Église." His first admiration for La Mennais soon died down when he found *l'Avenir* unwilling to support "this little prince" as he called Charles X. Still

Nielson, II, 69

[12] V.; also *l'Avenir* Mars 1831.

[13] Memorandum de C. Perier, etc.

[14] V. Affaires de Rome, 16-17.

another enemy was Cardinal Lambruschini, an Austrian. Perhaps the most powerful yet least evident opponents of La Mennais, however, were the Jesuits. Their animosity dates from the publication of "Des Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise," and it had increased as La Mennais developed still further his thesis of the freedom of the individual will. All these were La Mennais' enemies, and with one voice they demanded of the Pope the condemnation of the innovators.

To the unbiased observer the Pope's position at this time, and even his subsequent actions, are easily understood. And, he should not be judged too harshly; Gregory XVI was bound by the action of centuries. Rebellion in his own States, rebellion threatening in all Catholic countries, two foreign armies in two of his citadels; Austria, for one, he trusted but feared she would go to extremes, while of the sincerity of France, he felt uncertain. And behind all this there remained the sovereigns of the Catholic States, the only rulers in whom he might place his confidence, advising him to condemn this audacious liberal sprung himself from a country whose king was of revolutionary origin and whose religious professions were none too orthodox in the eyes of the Roman Congregation. All these things considered, it is hardly surprising that he acted as he did, and he should not be too heavily censured for his actions. Gregory XVI was not a great theologian nor a great savant; his letters show this; he was not a tyrant nor a proud pontiff, and above all he was singularly inexperienced. This inexperience and the knowledge of it, meeting with the more subtle character of Bernetti, could not but give rise to a certain defiance and stubbornness which was more of a shield to a weak character than an evidence of great resolution and strength. Furthermore, it seems, that Metternich was supreme in Rome at this moment, and it is not at all unlikely that the Pope may have shared in the general opinion the Austrian had spread in Rome; that the "Monarchy of the Glorious Days" was weak—witness the Ancona affair—and might fall at any time. With all this in mind, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Gregory XVI had decided it would be better to rid Catholic France of all these liberals at once, in the hope that when the

v. Apostolic Letters of Gregory XVI and Pius IX. *Cf.* Boutard, II, 272

change took place and France returned again to the fold, she might have as few of these liberals as possible to deal with; now to silence them once and for all. Moreover, if Gregory had approved La Mennais' doctrines, could he have sanctioned them at this time? This seems doubtful, for to have sanctioned one word of them would doubtless have plunged Europe into the worst civil war she had yet experienced. In practically every country there was discontentment, and the slightest sign of approval might easily have thrown open the gates of every Capital to revolution. It is true, the restive districts had been quieted but this had been done in many places in the name of religion and the Holy Alliance. Even the tacit recognition of such principles might easily have added the necessary spark to the inflammable condition of Europe and caused a terrific outburst of revolutionary enthusiasm. The question arises, then, if the editors had not demanded an answer, would their doctrines have been condemned? This again seems doubtful and may explain the hesitating policy the Roman Curia adopted in regard to the whole affair. Even La Mennais seemed to have realized this fact, but too late.[15]

But, the editors of *l'Avenir* had demanded the voice of Rome, and after a wait of six months it was to come to them. In the meantime their patience was to be tried by petty excuses, formalities and procrastinations. "Fear is the greatest enemy you have here in Rome," one prelate is said to have remarked to La Mennais. And commenting on this remark, La Mennais added: "He was mistaken; I believe it was political interests."[16]

d'Haussonville, "Lacordaire," p. 68

From the very outset the two younger members of the "Pilgrimage" seemed to have realized the utter hopelessness of their cause, but La Mennais did not perceive the actual state of affairs until much later, not, in fact, until June when the Pope issued his bull to the bishops of Poland—a veritable premonition of the fate awaiting *l'Avenir*. One thing, however, La Mennais did perceive and that was the actual decadence of the

[15] "Affaires de Rome," p. 7: "Furthermore, it is certain that if, less influenced by an overscrupulous delicacy they had scorned so many unworthy attacks and continued so courageously their work, no act of authority would have intervened to interrupt them."

[16] v. Giraud, lettre, 10 Avril 1832. "Affaires de Rome," 38.

Church in the city of its founding. This fact made a deep impression on him, but, oddly enough, it also served to convince him that his views were right and would be accepted.[17] If, on the other hand, they are neglected the Papacy will thereby have refused the last means of salvation offered it.

The subsequent actions of the Papacy seemed to bear out these observations. The three pilgrims had an interview with the Pope, but with the express understanding that the real purpose of their visit to Rome should not be discussed. La Mennais was much encouraged by the reception given him by Gregory XVI, despite the restriction which must have irritated him. Furthermore, his hopes were raised from time to time by the statements of cetain prelates—particularly Cardinal Micara, who is said to have expressed in no dubious terms his thorough approval of the Liberal Catholics' policy.[18] But the continued silence of the Court puzzled the three liberals, and they finally decided to force an answer. Accordingly they set to work to compose a "Mémoire" for the Pope. When this was completed (3 Février 1832) it was given to Cardinal Pacca who agreed to present it to Gregory XVI. The "Mémoire" was a frank exposition of the doctrines and policy of *l'Avenir* from

[17] J'espère que mon sèjour à Rome ne se prolongera pas dèsormais longtemps, et l'un des plus beaux jours de ma vie sera celui-ci où je sortirai de ce grand tombeau, où l'on ne trouve que des vers et des ossements." Corresp. ed. Forgues, 10 Février 1832.

Later he writes: "Le Pope est un homme pieux, conduit par les hommes qui ne le sont guère, et qui se préoccupent uniquement des intérêts temporels, qu'ils n'entendent pas. Ils fondent toutes leurs èspèrances sur les baionnettes des puissances ennemies de l'église, et, en conséquence cette église leur est sacrifiée sans hésitations. Les gens de bien gémissent et s'indignent. Ils pré-voient de grands chatimens, des catastrophes prochains, desquelles Dieu fera sortir le remède des maux extrêmes qu'ils déplorent et qui désormais ne peuvent être gueris que par l'intervention immédiate de Dieu. Il n'y a plus de Papauté; il faut qu'elle renaisse ou l'église et le monde périraient. Voilà l'état des choses." v. Giraud Une Corresp. ed. 10 Avril 1832.

[18] Boutard (II. 315) quotes a letter from La Mennais to M. de Coux in which L. repeats the remarks of the Cardinal: "Vous êtes venus à Rome pour demander que l'on condamnât vos doctrines si elles renfermaient quelque chose de condamnable; vous avez fait cette demande de vive voix, et par écrit; on ne les a pas condamnées, donc elles ne sont pas condamnables. Recommencez *l'Avenir;* c'est ce que je ferai à votre place."

the very beginning, and in it the writers tried to explain and refute the charge of being political revolutionaries—a charge brought by the Carlist interests at Rome. The first part was taken up with the description of the position of the neo-catholics in 1830 when they had two, and only two courses open to them, either to become a political faction under the government and gain power that way, or else to fight for it openly, the healthiest and safest way.[19] Equally apt is their description of the July Monarchy's attitude to religion and the efforts made to stifle it by gradually rendering it more servile to the State.[20]

The rest of the "Mémoire" is a defense of their doctrines, showing first that no canon or apostolic tradition exists against the separation of Church and State, that the Roman Catholic Faith is not incompatible with the liberty of religious denominations (Cultes), freedom of instruction, of the press or with any form of constitutional government. The "Mémoire" presents in a concise and convincing form the proof of the good done by *l'Avenir* and the *Agence* in matters of faith, conversion and religious indifference. In conclusion, the authors speak of their enemies in the following terms; (this paragraph is interesting as a portrait of the conditions existing in France at the end of the first Liberal Catholic Movement):

"To explain this curious situation it is necessary to go back to the causes of the opposition encountered by the editors of

[19] "Il n'y avait évidement que deux parties à prendre; ou s'en tenir au système de la Restauration ou l'alliance indissoluble du trône et de l'autel, à la solidarité de l'un et de l'autre, ou renoncer à ce système et séparer, autant qu'l était possible deux causes dont l'union avait été si malheureuse. . . . Suivre ce premier système de conduit était donc abandonner l'église au hasard dans un moment décisif pour elle; et, en supportant des éspèrances douteuses réalisées même dans un court delai, c'était l'attendre son salut cela même, qui avait fait sa perte pendant seize ans." Mem. Presentée Para. II.

Memoire presentee, IV and V

[20] "La Revolution de 1830 avait été faite autant contre l'église que contre la couronne, et il était impossible qu'il en fût autrement à cause de leur intime alliance. Le gouvernement sorti de cette révolution, devait, donc être hostile à l'église; mais il n'avait le choix comme nous l'avons dit, qu'entre une persecution ouverte et un asservissement progressif et complet. Il choisit la dernière mode comme moins hasardeuse; et parce qu'il voulait en toutes choses conserver au moins les apparences de l'ordre antérieur." Mem. Pres. Para. III.

Ibid. VI and VII

l'Avenir. Of these, two are of prime importance; one political, the other theological. When the partisans of the dethroned Bourbons saw a newspaper appearing that defended religion without defending the old dynasty, that even tried frankly to combat the faults of the Restoration, they persuaded themselves that its editors might become serious obstacles to their designs. They feared that their own cause might lose the support of the clergy, and as this support seemed essential to them they set to work to ruin *l'Avenir* with all the energy and all the eagerness that parties employ in order to remove an obstacle to their own progress. . . . On the other side, although dogmatic Gallicanism had been destroyed in France in the great majority of cases yet there still existed traces of it; and, in addition, practical Gallicanism, that is the long usage of a social order founded on the Gallican theory, made it that even those who had logically sacrificed the principle still lived under the empire of things that it had created. Then too, the separation of Church and State attacked this practical Gallicanism. It was, in brief, the setting into action of Roman doctrines in a society where contrary doctrines had only just recently perished after a controversy lasting ten years."

This, in substance, was the nature of the exposition of their doctrines presented by *l'Avenir's* editors to the Pope. It now remained for it to be put through an apparent examination and then there was a long delay. On the 9th of June, however, Gregory XVI issued his encyclical to the Bishops of Poland advising submission to the temporal power of the Tsar. This, as has been said, came about as an exchange for the Tsar's promise of assistance against his enemies to Gregory. One phrase of this letter was interpreted as a warming to La Mennais and his followers:

Mem. para., VIII

"In this cause you must use all diligence to be sure to prevent evil-minded men and innovators from continuing to spread their false doctrines and erroneous theories, from endangering the common welfare as they have done heretofore by taking advantage of the credulity of simple-minded folk, who, not having been cautioned, are unconsciously becoming blind instruments to trouble the peace of this realm and to upset the established order of Society."

The above paragraph left little doubt in the minds of La Mennais' harshest critics as well as his greatest friends, where the Papacy stood in regard to *l'Avenir* and its influence. It even seems to have warned La Mennais that he need expect little or no encouragement from Rome. And so it was that accompanied by Montalembert, for Lacordaire before this time had left them, La Mennais went to Munich where he was cordially received by the Round Table. Hardly, however, had he left Rome when the Protest of Toulouse arrived. It was a petition signed by the prelates of the "Midi," urging an immediate condemnation. So Gregory XVI, influenced by the bishops of the "Midi," the Carlists in France and Rome, the three conservative sovereigns of Europe, and alarmed, perhaps, by the assertion La Mennais is said to have made that, not having received any order to the contrary he would return and resume his work in France, was forced to act. On the 15th of August, 1832, the famous Encyclical "Mirari Vos" appeared and sounded the death-knell of the first Liberal Catholic Movement in France. In this document the Pope condemned every doctrine of *l'Avenir* except that of the absolute independence of the Church from civil authority. Almost at the outset the Encyclical indignantly denies that the Church has any need to be restored (régénérée). Thus at the very beginning the proof of La Mennais' fatal move at the first trial is established, and the great extent of influence exerted by *Ami de la Religion et du roi* and its adherents, the Carlists, affirmed.[21] In the

[21] "Cum autem ut Tridentinorum Patrum verbis utamur, constet Ecclesiam eruditam fuisse à Christo Jesu, ejusque Apostolis, atque à Spiritu Sancto illi omnem veritatem in dies suggerente edoceri, absurdum plane est, ac maxime in eam injuriosum, *restaurationem ac regenerationem* quandam obtrudi quasi necessariam, ut ejus incolumitati, et incremento, consulatur, perinde ac si censeri ipsa possit vel defectui, vel obscurationi, vel aliis hujuscemodi incommodis obnoxia; quo quidem molimine eo spectant novatores, ut recentis humanae institutionis jaciantur fundamenta, illud que ipsum eveniat quod detestatur Cyprianus, ut quae divina res humana fiat ecclesia: (since it has been proved, to quote the fathers of Trent, that the Church is instructed by Jesus Christ and his Apostles and that she was taught by the Holy Spirit who suggested to her every truth, it is absurd as well as extremely offensive to her that anyone should advocate as essential to her duration and increase any *restoration or reform;* as if she could be delivered or exposed to weakness, blindness, or any other failings

next paragraph Gregory refutes La Mennais' idea of the condition of indifference in matters religious, its cause, and also the thesis of liberty of conscience.[22] This, in turn, is followed by the condemnation of many of those political concessions which La Mennais through *l'Avenir* had advocated, among them, the liberty of the press.[23] The next paragraph is interesting, for it betrays the influences at work in the Papal Court as well as the real motives at their base. It was the paragraph demanded by the rulers of Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the government of France, a command to the people to obey the civil authority conferred on their superiors by Divine Law—and to cease to consider the dangerous works on liberty at that time so much in evidence.[24] But, the people once in sub-

of such a kind." Mirari vos—Gregorius XVI., XVIII. Kalendis Septembris die solemni assumptionis, B. V. Mariae, anno Dominicae incarnationis MDCCCXXXII, Pontificatus nostri anno II.

[22] "Atque ex hoc putidissimo indifferentismi fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliremantum, asserandam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet libertatem conscientiae." ("And from this equally shameful source springs that ridiculous and wrong idea, or rather madness, that freedom of conscience should be defended and insisted upon by any and all.") Mirari vos—Gregoribus XVI., etc.

[23] "Cum autem circumlatis in vulgus scriptis doctrinas quasdam promulgari acceperimus, quibus debita erga principes fides atque submissio labefactatur, facesque perduellionis ubique incenduntur; cavendum maxime erit, ne populi inde decepti a recti semita adducantur. Animadvertant omnes, non esse, juxta apostoli monitum, potestatem nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt a Deo ordinatae sunt. Itaque qui resistit protestati Dei ordinationi resistit et qui resistunt ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt. Quo circa et divina et humana jura in eos clamant, qui turpissimi perduellionis seditionumque machinationibus a fide in principes desisciere ipsosque ab imperio deturbare connituntur." ("Since it has come to our knowledge that certain works have been distributed among the people advocating the very doctrines subversive to the fidelity and submission due to princes, and light everywhere torches of revolt, it is most necessary that you see to it that the people do not surmount the bounds of their duties. They should remember that, according to the words of the apostle, 'There is no power which is not of God.' Therefore, he who resists that power, resists God and those who resist God do so to their own condemnation. Therefore both divine and human law is against those who attempt to overstep by civil plots of sedition and revolt, the duty of fidelity to their princes, and who try to dethrone them.") Mirari vos—Gregorus XVI., etc.

[24] "Neque laetoria et religioni et principatui ominari possemus, ex eorum

mission to their rulers, must not think of separating the Church from the Temporal Power to whom they are subjected.[25]

Having completed his condemnation of the doctrines of La Mennais, the Encyclical then considers the work of La Mennais and his school *l'Avenir,* to be sure, but more especially the *Agence* and all similar organizations in other countries as well. They are condemned as hotbeds of error and of revolution.[25] In conclusion, the Pope refers to La Mennais and his school in the following paragraph:

Mirari vos Gregorius, XVI, etc.

"Embracing in your paternal affection all those who are occupied in ecclesiastical sciences and religious questions; beseech them constantly not to rely overmuch on their own intelligence, which would take them far from the way of truth and would lead them into the way of impiety. May they remember that God is the way of all knowledge and the chastiser of the wise, and that we cannot know God without God who teaches us by His word to know God. It is for the proud and foolish

votis, qui Ecclesiam a regno separari, mutuamque imperii cum sacerdotio concordiam abrumpti dispiciunt. Constat quippe pertimesci ab impudentissimae libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quae semper rei et sacrae et civili fausta exstitit ac salutaris." ("We could not forbode anything more happily for religion and for the nations, in following the wishes of those who deny a separation of Church and State, than the mutual concord of empire and priesthood. For it is certain that this accord, so favourable both to religion and to civil authority in other times is the thing most feared by these relentless partisans of a limitless liberty."). Mirari vos—Gregorus XVI, etc.

[25] "Et ad caeteras acerbissimas causas quibus solliciti sumus, et in communi discrimine dolore quodam angimur praecipuo, accessere consociationes quaedam, statique coetus, quibus, quasi agmine facto cum cuius-cumque etiam falsae religionis ac cultus sectatoribus, simulata quidem in religionem pietate, vere tamen novitatis, seditionemque ubique promovendarum cupidine, libertas omnis generis praedicatur, perturbationes in sacram et civilem rem excitantur, sanctior qualibet auctoritas discerpitur." ("And in addition to other reasons with which we are troubled and also afflicted with grief in an unusual degree, there have arisen certain associations and fixed assemblies, in which a martial spirit and liberty of every sort is proclaimed; along with the followers of every cult and every false religion, under a pretense of respect for religion, to be sure, but really because of a desire for a change and for promoting revolutions everywhere they excite grievances against the good of the Church and the State, they destroy the most respectable authority.") Mirari vos, etc.

to weigh in a mortal made balance the mysteries of the Faith which passes all understanding, and to rely on our own reason, which is weak and helpless because of the state of human nature."

Such, in paraphrase, was the document that put an end to the first Liberal Catholic Movement in France and what a contrast it is to the "Acte d'Union" promulgated by that party! The Encyclical Mirari Vos might be called the final protest of The Middle Ages, condemning all those principles so dear to the men of to-day and all of which found birth in the Liberal Romanticism of the nineteenth century. It is true, similar doctrines had come to light before, but at a time when they appeared in a form too exaggerated and too impracticable. The Liberal Romanticism of the early Nineteenth Century, then, was a rebirth of these very same doctrines in a wiser and more reasonable form; and, curiously enough, La Mennais, became the precursor of Modern Realism, political, literary and religious; indeed, as one of his greatest contemporaries has said he was not of his age, he was a generation and more in advance.

Sainte Beuve, *Rév. des deux Mondes*, Vol. 5, 1832

La Mennais and Montalembert joined by Lacordaire at Munich, received the news of their condemnation in that city which had thrown wide its gates to receive them. And, it did not desert them in their hour of need. Accompanying the bull was a letter from Cardinal Pacca that was intended to lighten the weight of the blow. It recommended submission and attempted to show them, in a kindly fashion, where they had gone too far.[26] But the three did not need this advice, they had sworn submission and they kept the promise. On their return to France, *l'Avenir* was abandoned and the "Agence" with all its brilliant and noble aims was dissolved. The editors seemed to be resigned to their fate.[27]

[26] "Elle (so sainteté) a été beaucoup affligé de voir que les rédacteurs aient pris sur eux de discuter en présence du public et de décider les questions les plus délicates, qui appartiennent au gouvernement de l'église et de son chef suprême, d'où a résulté nécessairement la perturbation dans les esprits et surtout parmi le clergé lequel est toujours nuisible aux fidèles." Pacca à La Mennais, Rome, 16 Aout 1832. "Affairs de Rome, Pieces justificatives.

[27] "Nous sommes de pauvres oiseaux enfermés dans le recipient de la machine pneumatique. Que faire? Prendre patience, puisque c'est Dieu qui nous a mis là et chercher dans l'étude et pour ainsi dire, dans

Affaires de Rome, p. 157

Unfortunately, the story of their disgrace does not end here; it would have been far better for both parties had this been the case. But, there were to be separations and the severings of friendships.[28] And even then their enemies were not satisfied with a silence which, so La Mennais says, was too much like that respectful silence of the Jansenists, and they demanded further submission. Their requests became unreasonable and in time this useless persecution became intolerable to La Mennais. He refused to make a second act of contrition and another Encyclical followed, this time of definite condemnation. Rome could not forgive La Mennais the "Paroles d'un croyant."

v. epist Encyc. Gregorius, XVI VII, Kal. Julias An M.D. CCCXXXIV

At this date, July 7, 1834, we part with La Mennais. He lived longer, and did much good, even serving his country in the capacity of a deputy, but this does not concern us, for from now on he is removed from the course of events and the relations between Church and State. It remains to follow through its first stage the great movement to which he gave the first impulse, an impulse which by no means spent its strength.

Ami de la Religion et du roi, 6 Sept., 1832

How had France, his country, received the condemnation of the three Liberals at Rome? One party, of course, had rejoiced and had closed the discussion of the affair in columns of its journal with the triumphant words "Roma locuta est." Others, happily, had foreseen the evil of such an action and the great spiritual havoc it might create. Another, still more violent, demanded armed intervention. This, of course was ridiculous, but it served to show that La Mennais' work had not been in vain, and that those, even some of those who did not approve it, realized its importance and foresaw what we shall see and what one literateur of his country remarked at La Mennais' death:

v. *Journal des Débats* 1 Sept., 1832 *Constitutionnel,* 13 Sept., 1832

P. Albert, II, 141

"On croit La Mennais fini; jamais il n'a été plus vivant."

l'atmosphère de la science, l'air qui nous manque." La Mennais à Montalembert Logue, 1 Oct. 1832.

[28] For the account of Lacordaire's separation, v. La Mennais à Montalembert, ed. Fogues, 12 Dec. 1832.

CHAPTER IV

France 1832—1839

The Neo-Catholic Revival

The Premier who had inaugurated the Ancona policy did not see its completion. On April 16, 1832, the very day of the arrangement made between Pope, Emperor and King, Casimir Perier died. For nearly half a year previous to this time, Paris had been menaced with the cholera brought into Central Europe via Poland whither it had been carried by the Russian troops returning from Armenia. This disease claimed Casimir Perier. France was thrown into utter consternation at the news of his death; men asked themselves whether it portended good or evil, and even the King is said to have remarked: "Casimir Perier is dead, is this an advantage or a misfortune? Time will show." And time has shown that it was an advantage for Louis Philippe. Such a violent policy as Perier had inaugurated had accomplished much, but it could not have been tolerated longer; his death paved the way for men of a more peaceful nature but equally talented, and also more subtle, perhaps. By November, 1832, the political horizon seemed clearer; the Monarchy had silenced the Republicans and Legitimists temporarily at least, and the Bonapartists as well. The Republican revolt of June 5, occasioned by the funeral of General Lamarque, had threatened seriously the safety of the Monarchy, but the following day the government had gained a signal victory over them; the duchesse de Berri episode was decisively closed in November, and several months before, July 22, the duc de Reichstadt had died. For two years Louis Philippe was to remain unmenaced and secure on his throne.

L. Blanc, I, 612

After Perier's death there had ensued an interim when the ministry was without a formal head, but about the first of June Marshal Soult took charge, and resumed, after two years re-

spite, a thorough policy of "juste milieu." It must not be supposed, however, that the opposition, the Progressives, had remained silent all these months. Finding themselves unable to protest with any success in the chambers, they resorted to the press and the attacks against the government became more frequent and less moderate. There were many prosecutions in which the State did not fare well.[1] Furthermore, if these prosecutions displayed to the world the instability of Louis Philippe's throne, they also betrayed its utter hypocrisy. The liberal world began to ask itself if, after all, Louis Philippe and the men of 1830 were really sincere in their protestations of Liberalism.

"Let the men under whose direction the government has been worked since 1830 ask themselves whether the French people have been allowed to reap all the benefits to which the victory obtained at the price of their own blood had entitled them; whether they had not availed themselves of the power which the people unsuspiciously confided into their hands to turn the fruits of the popular triumph to the profit of their own selfish interests and narrow-minded views; and if they could convince us that they conscientiously believe this not to have been the case, we may deplore their blindness, but not think the less of their unfitness to be at the head of public affairs."

Editorial, London *Times*, Sept. 15, 1832

This opinion may be said to have been held in France as well, and so in a desperate attempt to please, Louis Philippe formed a new Ministry. The presidency was first offered to Dupin, but he refused, Guizot was too unpopular with the

L. Blanc, II, 83

[1] "The acquittal of the *National*, a Paris paper, for a libel on Louis Philippe, or rather for a seditious excitement to overturn his throne shows the utter madness of the State prosecutions, in which the French government has lately indulged. There can be no question that several Paris journals contain every morning provocations to rebellion. They do not disguise their hatred of the monarch or the monarchy nor their desire to see the establishment of a republican form of government. In their abuse of "the Bourbons" they adroitly veil their attacks and in praising the United States they recommend it to France. The *Tribune* has now arrived at its sixty-second process and glories in each summons. . . . When juries refuse to convict the government should take the hint and cease to trouble the tribunals with their complaints." Dispatch from Paris, London *Times*, Sept. 4, 1832.

Republicans, and it fell to the duc de Broglie to become the head of a new Cabinet. de Broglie was a high-minded admirable statesman but a "Doctrinaire"; still, Louis Philippe may have felt that perhaps under him the men who wielded the real power of the majority might be allowed to effect a middle course policy, with the careful hand of the duke ever ready to restrain them. Hence it was that Guizot and Thiers found places in the Ministry while Dupin was left in the Chamber of Deputies.[2]

It was a strong cabinet—"the Ministry of All Talents"—but at the outset it was confronted with a difficult task; within France to consolidate the throne by the arrest of the duchesse de Berri, and for foreign policy to secure the final consent of William of the Netherlands still hesitating, to the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles. It will be remembered that one of these ends was soon accomplished while the other they attempted to bring about by following up the policy of the Antwerp Expedition. But the king remained discontented; he did not like his Premier, who was of intractible honesty and who seemed to him too much of an idealist. Moreover, this feeling was not confined to the Court alone; there were many other eyes who saw the danger as well. The "Doctrinaires" had returned, those very men who almost until the fall of the old dynasty had failed to see its weakness, and who at the beginning of the new régime had been unable to establish it as firmly as they had promised.[3] In past times they had seemed blind to actual conditions and again in 1833 their statements did

v. Hillebrand, I, 503

[2] Broglie, Foreign Affairs; Thiers, Interior; Guizot, Public Instruction; Mennais, Finance; Soult, War; Barthe, Justice.

[3] "The government of France is at present in the hands of the doctrinaires—men, who without desiring it, have contributed a good deal to the downfall of the Bourbons. Their political science as formerly developed in the *Globe* and *Journal des Débats* gives us an idea of the tendency of their views. . . . In the *Journal des Débats* for the 11th of August of the same year (1829) we find the following passage: 'Irritation is daily appeased, the recollections of faction are on the wane, and extinguish themselves in a general attachment to the Charter.' Thus spoke the coryphaei of the 'doctrine' and within a year the dynasty was expelled, the Charter, that 'object of general attachment,' was torn to pieces by an imbecile monarch and the sublime populace of July forced its way in arms into the palace of the king." Dispatch from Paris, London *Times*, Jan. 5, 1833.

not seem conformable to the general opinion of the country. "The country wants no further troubles or disturbances, it thirsts for legal order; political passions become extinct daily." In only one sense of the word is this statement true; the country indeed did not seem to want any further disturbances or troubles, and for a year there ensued an apathy—curious and yet none the less natural in such uncertain times.[4] Three laws were passed by the Ministry and the nature of these laws cannot but tend to confirm the observations made by the foreign press on the system of the doctrinaires. The first law concerned the reorganization and reestablishment of the "Conseils d'arrondissement." A proposition had been made by Odilon Barrot and his confrères that the government form a new law allowing more opportunity to the electors living in the country districts, to assert their wishes. This proposal failed, and the older order, amounting to nothing more than an electoral monopoly on the part of the government, was reestablished. Guizot then proposed a more liberal law on primary instruction; this was passed but its effect was rendered null by the passing of other contrary legislation. The Ministry in its turn introduced and passed, on the ground of public utility, a law on the expropriation of public property. In external affairs the first year of the new ministry was not much more successful; France had cried aloud together with most of the Western Europe that the integrity of the

L. Blanc, II, 198

London *Times*, Apr. 3, 1833

[4] Victor Hugo in the Preface to "Le Rois s'amuse," 1833, notes this condition; his explanation is pertinent: "The moment of political transition in which we are placed is extraordinary. It is one of those instances of general weariness in which any act of despotism is possible in a society, even the most deeply imbued with notions of emancipation and liberty. France proceeded rapidly in 1830. She did three good day's work. She erected three depots in the field of civilization and advancement. Now, many are wearied, many out of breath, many call a halt. It is wished to hold back those generous spirits who are never tired and desire to keep always in advance, and wait for the laggards who are in the rear and give them time to come up. Hence an extraordinary fear of everything that thinks. This is an odd situation of things, easily understood, but difficult to describe. It consists of all existing that tremble at all ideal things; the league of interests pressed upon and bruised by theories; commerce which takes fright at all systems; merchants who want customers; streets that put counting houses in fear; the armed shop that defends itself."

Ottoman Empire must be maintained and yet she had taken part in annihilation of the Turkish fleet at Novarino, and was concerned in the Treaty of Adrianople. "Monstrous Contradiction," cried the Republicans. It is true, the ministry was one step nearer the English Alliance, but as yet it was only in prospect, and men were beginning to have so little faith in the "Doctrine" that they doubted if such a happy situation would ever become a reality. In 1833, then, some were again, because of present discontents, dreaming of a Republic, but they bided their time, for they were still too few in number to succeed.

The year 1834, however, opened more auspiciously for Louis Philippe. The English entente was in immediate prospect—it was the year of the Triple and Quadruple Alliances. These two alliances were of great service to the "Ministry of all Talents"; they brought to reality the English Entente, an object in prospect for over four years, the first step to which had been the Anglo-French accord in regard to Belgium, and the marriage of Louis Philippe's daughter to Leopold I, England's candidate. The occasion of the alliances was the civil wars in Spain and Portugal. Isabelle II of Spain, on the death of her father in 1833, found herself confronted with a rival to the throne in the person of Don Carlos, while in 1834, Donna Maria's right to the throne of Portugal was challenged by Don Miguel, her uncle. England took the part of these two unfortunate queens, one of whom was only a child, and with them she formed a pact of protection known as the Triple Alliance. On April 22, 1834 France joined the three and this treaty marks the foundation of the Quadruple Alliance. Thus was cemented the friendly entente with England, and yet, like so many of the political sections of the July Monarchy, it was founded on a patent inconsistency. It was true that England, no longer a member of the "Holy Alliance" needed an ally and France was in equal need, but that was their sole mutual ground for sympathy, as future events will show. They had failed to take into account their radically different policies in the East, and also England, if she took the entente seriously, though of this there is some ground for doubt, must have forgotten that Louis Philippe

Stern, IV, I

d'Haussonville, Hist., II, 2

Bourgeois, III, IV

was part Bourbon, and once he held the reins of the government himself, might revert to old Bourbon policies—witness Spain and the question of the Spanish marriages. Except for a slight break in 1840, under Thiers' ministry, the English alliance, nevertheless, was to hold good and be further strengthened by visits exchanged between the sovereigns (1843-1845) until the fatal year 1846.

This, then, was the first advantage of the Quadruple Alliance—France had an ally, even if she was excluded by Metternich from the general European Concert. The second advantage which the Ministry had foreseen, however, was to make less of an impression on the minds of the French. Upon the outbreak of civil war in their respective realms, the two queens had found themselves almost without support at home. Both turned, therefore, to the liberal party, and aided by the liberal parties in their respective realms, Donna Maria and Isabella were victorious, with this important result: the formation of quasi-constitutional governments. So another French Ministry was enabled to boast of a liberal policy. But this advantage was comparatively nil in France. It had, however, one serious result; it opened the eyes of Metternich to a new situation, a formidable coalition for constitutional rights seemed imminent,[5] and he determined to break this union as soon as possible. In still another quarter there was discontent, and of a far more serious nature; this policy had not impressed the Republicans. In April 1834 another revolt broke out among the factory workers in Lyons, principally hatmakers and silk weavers. The Industrial Revolution as before, was the cause; but while the riot originated in the form of a strike, it soon became more menacing. The Republicans seized upon it, and attempted to use it as a means to gain their own ends. The revolt spread to St. Etienne, Clermont, Grenoble and finally to Poitiers and Luneville. Soon Paris, too, was the scene of a riot where the Republicans

Weill, p. 100 et seq

[5] "I reckon this to be a great stroke. In the first place it will settle Portugal, and go some way to settle Spain also. But what is of more permanent and extensive importance, it establishes a quadruple alliance among the Constitutional States of the West, which will serve as a power counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the East." Letter of Palmerston, quoted in Cruice VI, 65.

of the capital with "sections" named after the great heroes of the Revolution, Robespierre, Marat, etc., took to street fighting under the direction of Cavaignac, Lagrange, Grinaud and Louis Blanc. Louis Philippe's two years of internal peace had ended.

The year 1835 saw several changes in the cast of characters to play a part in the history of political progress under Louis Philippe. La Fayette had died in May of the preceding year and de Broglie during that year resigned from the Ministry. But the principal interest of the new year was the trial of the Republican leaders who had figured in the April Days of 1834. Here again, the government displayed almost incredible weakness; there were no death sentences; deportation was to be the penalty, and Cavaignac was allowed to escape from Paris. The greatest event of the year, however, was not the trial of the republican conspirators but the attempt made on the life of Louis Philippe July 28th. Its results were far reaching. On that date Louis Philippe reviewed the troops on the Boulevard du Temple. During the review an infernal machine exploded near the king; forty people were killed, but Louis Philippe escaped uninjured. This time the government was not so lenient in its actions. The perpetrators of the crime, Morey, Fieschi and one Pepin, were condemned to death and guillotined. But the trial had been the scene of constant riots and the government, alarmed, decided at last on repressive measures. Accordingly the September laws were promulgated altering the assize court system by allowing the Minister of Justice to create as many of these special courts as might be necessary in the event of attacks threatening the security of the State. In addition, jury decisions were made possible by a mere majority vote (instead of two-thirds vote as heretofore) and the censorship of the press was to be vigorously enforced. Such were the direct results of the Morey-Fieschi attempt. The indirect results were still greater; more stringent laws were passed forbidding associations, and the paper hawkers were allowed to sell only specified journals. There was, moreover, another result of this latest attempt on the life of the King, and this is found in the changed attitude of the monarch himself. Six attempts in all were made on

Hillebrand, I, 480 et seq

the life of Louis Philippe during his reign and these experiences taught him far more successfully than the cunning of Metternich, the advantages of principles of Legitimacy and a "Bourbon policy." The September Laws mark the first step in this direction.

The effect of this Ordinance on the "Ministry of All Talents" was fatal; for, while the laws appeared to accomplish the desired end, their authors found themselves unable to do more. Accordingly in February, 1836 the Ministry was dissolved and from this date there ensued a period of four years' struggle which may well be called the Parliamentary crisis of the July Monarchy. It was during this interval that the monarchical principle as understood by the founders of the July Monarchy began to lose its hold. The reason is obvious. By the fall of the Broglie cabinet all those elements, that had been united under the Ministry of Casimir Perier and that had given it and the succeeding Cabinet much power were dispersed. de Broglie, Thiers, Guizot, Molé, Soult, the great parliamentarians of the day, no longer acted in unison and in harmony. They were now to act independently; politics became a matter of personal interest and personal theories. The dissolution of the Ministry of the Doctrine brought more anarchy into the field of political ideals. It seemed, too, as if the most prominent of these leaders had experienced a sudden political transformation. Thiers, no longer of the "doctrinaires," became more affiliated with the Left Center, while Guizot, abjuring his former policies, became a leader in the opposition of the Right.[6] The period

Thureau Dangin, II, 439

v. Mazade, "Thiers"

v. de Crozales, "Guizot"

v. Bardoux, "Guizot"

Hillebrand, I, 621; also 498

[6] A propos of this change on the part of Guizot Heine (Lutece) remarked a little later: "With Guizot it is different. For him the victory of the bourgeois is a fait accompli. He evinces all the qualities of a true doctrinaire, who never fails to find a doctrine by which he proves all he does. He knows too much and is by far too intelligent to be a sceptic at bottom, but his scepticism is easily conciliated with the devotion to his system. Just now he is a faithful servant of the Bourgeoisie and he will defend his idea to the last inexorably and with the harshness of a Duke of Alva. He does not hesitate, he knows what he wants at the present hour. Why even were he to fall his very fall would not shake him; he would shrug his shoulders for after all he is personally indifferent to the thing he is fighting for. Nay even if by strange hazard victory should tumble into the hands of

of rivalry was an actuality; it was no longer a thing foretold or foreseen. The obtaining of a Parliamentary majority—now a very fickle and elusive object, became a mere matter of agility. One foreign observer, then a resident of Paris, gives a very striking yet by no means inexact description of the rivalry between the two leaders:

"He (Guizot) does not know how to come down from the top mast of power. Whilst Thiers, who is as agile as a monkey in getting to the top of this greasy "mât de cocagne" is still more ready to slip down from it again, and jump among the admiring crowd, full of smiles, ease, elasticity; Guizot neither climbs up nor comes down the same way. He hoists himself up so heavily and with such outrageous efforts of strength, that one invariably thinks of a bear scaling a wall to get a honey pot; but when he is at the top, he digs his strong paws vigorously in, and then it is very hard to get him down. Perhaps he has not the easy knack of descending possessed by his smart rival, and, once 'in,' it may require a positive commotion to get him 'out' of his high place." H. Heine, II, 8

On the 22nd of February, 1836, Thiers formed a new ministry. It was not to last long, however, and the sixth of September, Thiers resigned owing to a reversal of policy by Louis Philippe who, at the last minute, denied the advisability of Thiers' policy to send troops to Spain for the purpose of upholding the new Constitution granted by Isabella II.

The first ministry of Thiers had also witnessed the early discovery of another attempt to be made on the life of Louis Philippe, again this time planned by the Republicans now known under two names "The Society of the Family" and the "Society of the People's Rights." Thus the king was a second time brought face to face with the grave dangers menacing the dynasty and a new policy, long in contemplation but never before tried, was inaugurated under the Molé Ministry (1836-1839). This new plan was known as the v. *Moniteur*, 4-5 Sept., 1836

the Republicans or Communists I would strongly advise these excellent weak-witted individuals to get hold of Guizot for their minister, and I would give just the same advice to 'Henricinquists' (Carlists) in case they should be restored one day to power." Lutece, Französische Züstande II, L.

"policy of personal government."[7] The new cabinet proved to be the training school in which Guizot prepared himself for his long term of office after the fall of Thiers in 1840.[8] Molé desired to put an end to the policy of repression as instituted by the September Laws; he had visions of social reform, and of bringing about a reconciliation between parties. It is interesting to note that he was supported in this by La Mennais. The entrance of Guizot into the Ministry, however, prevented the pursuit of this plan, perhaps too ideal for such troublesome times, and the former "Doctrinaires" headed by the new minister, soon formed a separate faction in the cabinet against their chief. The first event of importance was the Strassburg plot of October 30th, originated by the Bonapartists and headed by Louis Napoleon. The "Culte Napoleon" had been gaining the people for some time. For fear of appearing cowardly had they done otherwise, the government had foolishly allowed plays dealing with Napoleonic era to be produced at the various theatres, and the newspapers of the time were filled with verse and anecdotes about the great Emperor. But the "Prince" was finally seized, brought to Paris, and then shipped to America where he remained silent for a brief interval. New elections were called for the fourth of November, occasioned by the discussion on the laws of "appanage," and these served the purpose of arousing the press from its lethargy. Attacks against the government became violent and the famous caricature of Louis Philippe "La Poire Couronnée" appeared. Taken all in all, however, this agitation had little, if any effect, and a period of comparative prosperity followed. France was given a breathing space and was allowed to pursue and to develop for a time her colonial policy. The conquest of Algiers was completed; there was peace at home and abroad. This state of affairs, was of short duration.

v. La Mennais Preface, Troisiemes Milanges

v. also Ida St. Elme, "Le Roi des Barricades"

[7] Louis Philippe is said to have remarked to the Prussian ambassador: "Priez le Roi de prendre en considération en me jugeant les difficultés de ma position. Aussi j'ai du prendre pour six mois M. Thiers pour montrer à la France ce qu'il vaut. Il me faut infiniément de patience et de persistence pour conduire ma barque." Louis Philippe's own words to Werther, quoted Hillebrand I, 636.

[8] Molé, Guizot, de Remuscat, Duchatel, Montalivet.

In 1839 there occurred a memorable event in the history of parliamentary government in France. For some time there had been gradually forming a coalition that seemed to portend a reunion of some of those very elements dispersed at the fall of the "Ministry of All Talents." In the Chamber there had come about a feeling of sympathy among the leaders of the different parties. Guizot and Dufaure of the Right Center, Berryer of the Extreme Right, Thiers of the Left Center, Odilon Barrot of the Dynastic Left, and even to a certain extent Lamartine of the Extreme Left were slowly finding that they all had certain causes for mutual action. But, this was not the reunion for which Molé had striven; in fact, it was against the Prime Minister himself that they were forming. There is only one reason for this phenomenal rapprochement; the majority of the Molé Cabinet were become the blind instruments of the king's policy. This policy, as it appeared to everyone, would be fatal; it demanded concessions with bad grace at home and too ready concessions abroad. The Eastern Question was already of prime importance and many felt that therein lay France's glory. Then too, the Spanish question was still unsettled. Furthermore, a change of attitude on the part of the king rendered their solution more remote as far as France was concerned. For Louis Philippe had long since begun to regret that he was of revolutionary origin, and he now sought to have this fact forgotten. His recent experiences had shown him that he need no longer expect much from the Liberals, and he had in contemplation a thorough policy of reaction. By 1839, then, Louis Philippe was resolved to discard nearly all appearances of liberalism and he was now more likely to listen to the cunning of Metternich. As we have seen, the Austrian until 1836 had employed a policy of intimidation in regard to the July Monarchy, and during this period the king had kept aloof from him in a wary fashion.[9] But upon the inauguration by Louis Philippe of a policy of personal government, the direct influenceof old reactionary doctrines became

v. *Moniteur*, 4-5 Sept., 1836

Journal des Debats, Sept. 6, 1836

London *Times*, Sept. 5, 1836

v. Metternich Nach gelassene Papieren, V, VI and VII; especially VI and VII

[9] "Metternich commenca par *traiter* Louis Philippe en ennemi sans lui faire du mal, et finit par le *traiter* en ami sans lui faire du bien." Debidour, "Etudes Critiques," Metternich et la Monarchie de Juillet, p. 331.

apparent. The first evidence of this new influence is found in the year 1836 during Thiers' first term as Premier. It will be remembered that in that year Louis Philippe suddenly reversed the policy he had formerly pursued in regard to Spain, and a quarrel with Thiers, leading to the latter's resignation, followed. At that very moment the king was hunting a wife for his son and heir, the duc d'Orleans, and was considering the possibility of obtaining the consent of the Emperor to a marriage with the Archduchess Theresa. This quarrel with Thiers also led to a brief estrangement with England, for the latter country had interpreted his action as a renunciation of the Quadruple Alliance. The significant fact is that for the moment the king did not seem to care. The second indication of a tendency on the part of the king to reverse his former policies is still more convincing; Louis Philippe seemed to have lost interest in the final settlement of Belgian affairs. Here were two great events in which the king had shown such interest in the years 1833 and 1834; how account for this change of attitude? The question is answered by the following fact; for some time it had been known that Louis Philippe, through Saint-Aulaire, was carrying on a considerable correspondence with Metternich. It was to combat this new influence, then, that the "Coalition" was formed, and to save France from a new peril they resolved to strike at once. It was when Louis Philippe (through Molé) seemed likely to definitely reverse his entire attitude towards Spain that the Coalitionists decided to act. Other questions, less important were pending, and using these the coalition protested. New elections were called. On March 8, 1839 the new chamber was returned, and it was found that there were 252 Coalitionists against 207 Ministerials. Molé resigned on that day. The first effort of Metternich had failed; the English Alliance, one of the bases of the July Monarchy, had been saved by the actions of the Parliamentary Coalition.

Hillebrand, III, 327 et seq

If, however, Metternich's plot did not succeed the first time, it was not long before another event would give him the opportunity he sought. After a brief interval during which time there occurred the riot of the "Society of the Seasons,"

the Soult ministry was formed. It lasted but six months. Soult was not vigorous, and seemed totally unfit to cope with a very serious question of foreign policy now appearing on the political horizon. The Chambers demanded Thiers, and the disagreement upon the question of the dot of the duc de Memours became the occasion of the Marshal's downfall. Nothing more remained for Louis Philippe to do but to call a man from the Left Center. Accordingly, on the fourth of March, 1840, Thiers formed his second ministry. One main question occupied the entire attention of the country during this year and that was the affair of Mehemet-Ali and the Orient.

The Turkish Empire was at this time embroiled with one of its former vassals, Mehemet-Ali, who more than once had saved the Sultan from serious defeat. As a reward for his services he had asked of Mahomet the hereditary vice-regal rights over Egypt and Syria with the express stipulation that he would always acknowledge the sovereignty of the Porte. But the Sultan feeling more independent because of a recent treaty with Russia whereby the Tsar in return for promised protection obtained the right of entrance into Dardanelles, refused his vassal's request. Mehemet-Ali then complained to France, England and Austria, warning them that Russia controlled nearly half the Ottoman Empire, and was oppressing it under the pretext of protecting it and that she would "become in the end a colossus which, standing between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, would make the world turn left or right according to her own caprice." The powers to whom this appeal was made acknowledged the truth of this observation, but busied as they were with their own particular designs, they did not heed the warning it contained. England alone seems to have paid any attention to it. But when Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet-Ali entered into Syria with an armed force they all took fright, and cried with one voice, "The Integrity of the Ottoman Empire must be preserved." England, in accordance with her entente, had asked Louis Philippe to protest against the Dardanelles arrangement in 1839, but he had declined. So, Palmerston in 1840 turned elsewhere to see what could be arranged, for he

L. Blanc, Hist., II, 615

v. de Malortie. ch. on Mehemet-Ali

v. Speech Queen Victoria, Hansard, Mar., 1840, p. 62

felt that there would not be the slightest hope of assistance from France. Furthermore France had already shown herself favourable to Mehemet-Ali. This, from England's point of view, rendered the French position all the more suspicious, for Mehemet-Ali had refused to grant a trade route for British commerce; might this not be the price he had paid for French favour? To Palmerston, therefore, the Algiers occupation and this shown of friendship to Mehemet-Ali could mean but one thing—the extension of the French sphere of influence in the East. Public opinion in England was rapidly changing to Palmerston's view, and in a few months they had come to believe what one periodical had observed earlier in the year; that France desired to become at Alexandria what Russia had become at Constantinople. Here, then, was Metternich's opportunity; Russia and England had a common grievance, Russia because of the occupation of Algiers which seemed to threaten her own influence, and England because of the essential differences between her Eastern policy and that of France. The steps leading up to the Quadrilateral Treaty were many and complicated. In brief, it soon became evident that England, Austria and Russia were to be lined up against Mehemet-Ali and France. The treaty was signed at London on July 15th between England, Russia, Prussia and Austria, for the purpose of subduing Mehemet-Ali and insuring "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." War seemed imminent, but suddenly Louis Philippe checked Thiers. Could it have been the words of Metternich that arrested Louis Philippe in the fulfilment of the policy of his progressive Premier: "The King belongs to one party and the Ministry to another. In such a situation, how can France be trusted?" The "King of the Glorious Days" bowed before a veritable reincarnation of the Holy Alliance, and Thiers resigned October 29th. France had been again excluded from the European concert, the English Alliance seemed broken. It remained for Guizot to repair for a time and then reestablish the old state of affairs.

L. Blanc, II, 643-4

Edinburgh *Review*, Feb., 1840

Metternich's own words, Debidour, "Etudes Critiques," 341-2

These were, in the main, the political events of importance during the Period of Parliamentary Rivalry and Decline following the Ancona affair and the condemnation of *l'Avenir*.

During that period personal government was established, then overthrown, only to be reestablished through the weakness of a king duped by the clever negotiations of one of the greatest diplomats of his age. Having this outline of events always in mind, it now remains to follow the fortunes of the party condemned by an act of Papal authority in 1832. La Mennais, it will be remembered, was abandoned, Lacordaire thrown into terror at his own rash acts and sayings, and Montalembert torn between the love of his former leader and his faith. Disconsolate the latter wandered over Europe seeking the distractions his former guide had bade him seek, and after a long interval he found an interest in the forgotten legend of St. Elizabeth. This labour prepared his mind for a still greater work. In the meantime, the Liberal Catholic cause was not without its new disciples and reorganizers. Such a great movement could not be eradicated by the mere stroke of a pen on a Papal allocution. Another group was forming, separate and distinct at first, but soon to have direct continuity with the silenced party of *l'Avenir* through the adherence of Lacordaire, de Coux, de Carné, the brothers Boré and Montalembert. And while these men did not carry the mantle of La Mennais with them into the new group, while his name was often openly disavowed, still they did not escape from his general teachings, or his professed theories. The new Liberal Catholic Movement, to be known later as the "Neo-Catholic" Movement, was merely the "époque organique" of an earlier formative and critical period; much was abandoned but nothing was added. In the end, Montalembert and Lacordaire received the reward of their earlier and less successful ventures, by seeing their efforts crowned in the granting of some of those very rights which *l'Avenir* had so valiantly demanded—liberty of association and liberty of teaching. After all are there not included in these two privileges all the other liberties demanded by the young disciples of La Mennais? Why, then, was the new group to succeed where La Mennais had failed? There are many answers to that question and all of them are important, but the principle reasons to be remembered at this time are three in number. In the first place, they had the patience

R. P. At 51

Debidour, 430-1

Thureau-Dangin, Mon. Juillet 1, 322-3

and the faith that La Mennais lacked. Then, too, they concentrated their efforts in three single directions, charity and the demand for the two liberties mentioned above. And lastly, they were careful always to have the support of some of the higher clergy. It was indeed a smaller programme, and less noble also in that its aspirations did not mount so high. But these characteristics became the virtue of the new movement and the secret of its success. *L'Avenir* with its interests in Poland, Belgium, Ireland, and Germany, with its demands for reforms really needed not only in France but all over the world as well, had soared into the realms of the impossible, and had created a real confusion of purposes. There was to be little inconsistency after all, with the early professions of this offspring of La Mennais' group and their submission to Gregory XVI. In the end they found that they could advocate and practice the same doctrines, in moderation, as they had done in 1830-1831. If anywhere, the inconsistency lay in the action of the Papacy, for two years later it permitted the Liberal Catholics to recommence their work, and yet the Encylical "Mirari Vos" was not disavowed. Such a contradiction is hard to explain. It only indicates once again the subordination of the Vatican to the influence of things temporal; Italy was now comparatively at peace, there was no danger. The Liberal Catholics might speak again, but without the mention of politics. The whole affair, on Rome's side is utter casuistry. There were, moreover, other virtues the new school possessed which were to its advantage. It was more general, less individual; more human, less theoretical; and, finally, it appealed to all Catholics and not to a small group of enthusiasts in that it required its members to disregard all dynastic questions, all political turmoils in France and elsewhere, and to fight for the rights of the church alone. The era of Napoleon and Pius VII had witnessed the renaissance of Ultramontanism, the era of La Mennais and Gregory XVI had seen its first activity, while the era of Montalembert, Ozanam and Piux IX witnessed its transformation from the temporal to the spiritual alone, and its triumph, as the logical result of such a change. This gradual evolution, however, did not prevent it from exer-

cising quite an influence on the political life of 1840-1848, years when Guizot as sole agent of the king was fostering a policy that brought to its inevitable end the July Monarchy. The Liberal Roman Catholics gained their victory in the Period of Decline and Transformation of the Monarchical Principle as established at the Revolution of 1830.

The beginnings of the new movement were much more humble, much less important, and attended with far less éclat than the début of the former school. They began by a single act of charity.

In 1834 a young student at Paris wrote to M. de Falconnet: "I am surrounded in certain respects by many temptations; from every side they cry out to me, they urge me on, they push me toward a career entirely different from my studies; simply because God and my education have endowed me with a slight 'largesse' of ideas and a certain breadth of tolerance, they seek to make me the chief of 'la Jeunesse Catholique' in this country. . . . I do not tell you this from pride, for, on the contrary, I realize only too well my own weakness, I, who have not yet attained my twenty-first year; their compliments rather humiliate me, and I often want to laugh at my own importance. But I have no cause for laughter, on the contrary I suffer unbelievable torments when I realize that all these thoughts may rise to my head, intoxicate me, and force me to give up what until now I have regarded as my chosen career, what has been the constant wish of my parents, and what I really feel I want to do myself."

Lettre, 7 Janv., 1834 Pages choisies

Thus wrote Frederic Ozanam, a student in Paris, just two years after the fall of La Mennais. A youth delicate in health but gifted with a wonderful energy, he was destined to become the founder of the new school, and later, in the highest circle of learning in France, a distinguished professor of literature and history, who in all his works served the Faith, and by his life as a scholar, a friend of the poor and a Catholic, merits all the honours with which Rome has embellished his memory since his death and which she may be holding in store for him.[10] The life of young Ozanam reads

Charles Huit, 99

[10] The centenary of the birth of Ozanam was celebrated recently (1913) in Paris and there has been talk of his beatification. Surely Rome could render no greater honour to herself, to those of her faith

like a poem of the golden ages of Christianity and yet is tinged with enough of the modern thought of today to serve as a noble example to his successors. His works, in turn, possessed all the beauties of Chateaubriand with none, happily, of his faults. They were scientific, logical and persuasive but lacked the absurd sentimentality of the earlier poet. His "Études Germaniques," "History of Civilization in the Fifth Century" and his other great work "Dante and Catholic Philosophy," revealed Christianity in its true and original light, simple, trusting and of enduring power. Their effect was remarkable; they raised the hearts of those readers who believed but feared for their belief, and showed to the proud men of the so-called "Enlightenment" the very light for which they sought to create, a substitute which they failed in the end to sustain. This, in brief, was part of the service Frederic Ozanam rendered to his people. To others again the example of his life, thought and friendship was a still greater inspiration.[11]

v. F. Ozanam, "Philosophie Chretienne," I, 4

Such was Ozanam, not ascetic but moderate; unselfish and modest. Thus it was that at the very moment when a too proud and therefore less exact science cried aloud that they were sounding the death-knell of Christianity in France, a young and ardent believer, their equal in ability, entered the field of literature to defend and release his Faith.[12] The

v. ex Lamartime to Ozanam, 6 Oct., 1831 "Pages choisies"

and to the Christian world at large, than the elevation of this beautiful character, the father of a family, a man of the world and a sincere believer, to the ranks of the many prophets and martyrs in whose steps he has followed.

[11] Introduction of Pierre Chaveau to "F. Ozanam," P. A. R. D. Chaveau. Intro. (p 3): "Toute sa vie fut une simple prédication, par la parole, par l'écriture et par l'action."

[12] "C'est qu'en effet que cette historie littéraire et sociale des temps barbares esquissée d'une main si habile et si sure, n'a qu'un but; mettre en lumière la longue et laborieuse éducation dont l'Europe est redevable au Catholicisme." Charles Huit. Ozanam 10. Speaking of his versatility: "En parcourant ce vaste ensemble de notes, de leçons, d'écrits, on croit parcourir l'atelier d'un sculpteur qu'aurait disparu jeune encore, et qui aurait laissé beaucoup d'ourages arrivés a un inégal dégré de perfection. Il y a là des statues terminées et polies avec une extrème diligence, il en est qui ne sont qu'ébauchées et degrossies à peine mais toutes portent l'empreinte de la même âme et la marque

greatness of Ozanam's talent could not be denied even by his strongest opponents and the men less likely to notice him because of his religious and political views could not fail to render homage to him.

In 1832, then, this young scholar was in Paris, a student at the Sorbonne and the Ecole de Droit. The conditions among the students in Paris were not what might be called happy, there was much restlessness and discussion. Every day the University was becoming more proud of the power given it by the "Code Universitaire" of Napoleon, and less tolerant of its possible rivals. Hence its hostile attitude to religion and to all those, not only Catholics, who desired the right to teach their own systems of philosophy. Alarmed to a considerable extent by the showing made in the courts by the "Agence" in the "Ecole Libre" affair (1831), its attitude had become more and more hostile until the University itself appeared in many ways to be the very center of anti-religious feeling, while such men as Jouffroy, Quinet, Michelet, Cousin and others had not hesitated to attack the Catholic faith in their lectures and in their works. Jouffroy, in particular, had become offensive in this respect, for, regarding religion as a system of philosophy which was on the wane, he had criticised it in this light and referred to the ancient Christian hierarchy as an institution of the past. This treatment could not help but arouse in the hearts of some of his young hearers newly come from homes where Christian principles were still upheld, a decided feeling of resentment, and it was not long before a small group of them, having common sympathies in this respect, formed an organized opposition for the purpose of contradicting either by writing theses or by cross questioning their lecturers, certain statements made by the "Universitaires" during their conferences. In 1832 Ozanam wrote:

"Twice already I have taken my part in this good work by addressing to them (the lecturers) my written objections. But we have had most success in the course of M X (probably Jouffroy). On two occasions he has attacked the Church;

[Lettre, 10 Févr., 1832 "Pages—choisies," 45

de la même main." F. Ozanam. Introduction (2) of J. J. Amper to Ozanam Works, p. 2.

the first, in treating the Papacy as a passing institution, born under Charlemagne and dying today; the second in accusing the clergy of having always favoured despotism. Our replies, which were read publicly, have had the best result on both the professor and on his hearers who have applauded us. But the most useful effect in this work has been to demonstrate to 'la jeunesse étudiante' that it is possible to be a Catholic and have common sense, to love religion and liberty at one and the same time, and finally, to draw them from a state of religious indifference and accustom them to serious discussion."

This passage, particularly the latter part, is interesting in more than one respect. It shows not only the tendency of the "Universitaires" and the germs of a second nascent religious reaction under the July Monarchy, but it suggests also the very ideals of La Mennais and the earlier school "Dieu et la liberté," a reaction against indifference and the upholding of the Christian doctrine based on "sens commun." Following out still another ideal of La Mennais, almost, in fact, seeming to have read his injunction "go, like the twelve fishermen and reconquer the world," this small group began to organize. In 1833 they founded, after the model of an older society known as the "Society of Good Works", an organization called for a time "les Conférences Saint Vincent de Paul," later named "la société Saint Vincent de Paul." It was essentially a lay organization governed by laymen and was, furthermore, distinct and separate from all political societies. Its aims were humble and consisted of the dispensing of charity, the instruction of the poor and the assuring of religious consolation to prisoners and the dying poor. The influence of this new society rapidly spread; people were attracted to it by its very simplicity and by the fact that it was a religious guild devoted to the sole interest of religion and free from all political controversy. To the joy of its founder it remained so. Phenomenal progress attended its début; within a year it had four branches in Paris and others in Nimes, Lyons, Nantes, Rennes, Dijon, Toulouse and Rome. Bailly the first president, then organized a general council at Paris. The Society Saint Vincent de Paul is now one

Debidour, E et E, 432-3

of the greatest and most efficient organizations of the Roman Communion. Branches of it are found wherever there is a Roman Catholic parish, and in France, the country of its birth, it is become the foremost charitable organization in the church. Thus the very first effort of the New Liberal Catholic Party enjoyed immediate success, and the young leader, so encouraged, eagerly set to work on other plans.[13]

But the Society Saint Vincent de Paul did not satisfy all their needs; a more open discussion was necessary, and this the interest of the new society would not permit. The leaders, therefore, decided on a bold step. Ozanam, assisted by a few of his supporters Lejouteux, de Montazet and Madame Swetchine, the friend and adviser of the young enthusiasts, appealed to the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quelen, asking him to throw open the pulpit of Notre Dame to the discussion of present day religious questions. Their main object was to combat thereby the theories of the University and the lectures of M.M. Jouffroy and Michelet in particular. But, de Quelen, who had had enough experience with the too hasty eagerness of their predecessors was wary, and while he did encourage them and is said to have exclaimed to Ozanam: "J'embrasse en votre personne toute le jeunesse catholique," he was nevertheless unwilling to comply with their entire request and undertook to supervise and even deliver some of the sermons himself. For the time being the conferences had little success. In the meantime, however, Lacordaire had found his calling, and by his lectures to the students at the "College Stanislaus" he was accomplishing the very work the New Liberal Catholics had wished to begin. His conferences created a great sensation, became fashionable, and were attended by such eminent men as Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Berryer. The new group, in turn, were not slow to attend, and soon the

Debidour, E et E, 433

Footnote of Chatelain, "Pages-choisies," 47-48

[13] In May of that year Ozanam wrote: "Taxés de bigots par nos camarades impis, de libéraux, et téméraires par les gens agés; interpellés à chaque jour sur ce que nous pensons, sur ce que nous faisons; soumis au pouvoir arbitraire de nos professeurs de l'Université ayant à craindre quelquefois pour nous mêmes au temps des émeutes, et surtout pour nos parents éloignés de nous; c'est une existence bien bizarre et bien ennuyeuse." Ozanam, 16 Mai 1833. Pages choisies 65.

"College Stanislaus" became the rendezvous of the Liberal Catholics in Paris. Even these lectures, however, did not escape a certain amount of protest from the reactionary party at Rome and the Carlists in France. But the voice of the latter was not, for the moment, strong enough and the lectures continued for a time to enjoy the brilliant success they had met with in January 1834.[14]

Yet another circumstance favoured them; the efforts of de Quelen, Frayssinous and MacCarthy at Notre Dame had not met with much success and when the Young Catholics appealed a second time, the Archbishop listened to them. In 1835 the pulpit of Notre Dame was opened to Lacordaire, a former editor of *l'Avenir*. To the eyes of many it seemed in itself a tardy recognition of the effects of the earlier school. The success was immediate. One historian gives a description of the scenes enacted weekly at Notre Dame well worth a brief citation:[15]

"To watch them only during the hours of waiting, talking, unfolding their newspapers, reading profane books and turning their backs to the altar, you would have easily have recognized that this assembly was not composed of those accustomed to frequent churches. It was, indeed, the new Society of the Nineteenth Century, just as it had emerged from the Revolution of 1830. To quite an extent dechristianized, it was that very society which after having assisted as indifferent or amused spectators at the sack of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, four years later was forming about a Christian pulpit such an audience as had not been seen, perhaps, since the time of St. Bernard; it was this society which thus reestablished its broken relations with religion and by its very numbers gave to Catholicism formerly proscribed, a new proof of its importance and popularity; it was a sudden transition from hate to honour which those Christians who had seen the two periods before and after 1835 were later unable to recall without their eyes filling involuntarily with tears. . . . As if to complete the contrast and to mark more exactly the progress made, the prelate who presided at these services and for whose benediction the crowd respectfully inclined

[14] d'Haussonville Lacordaire, ch. V.

[15] Debidour, E et E 433-4.

was that very archbishop who was yesterday chased from his sacked palace and forced to hide in the capital of his diocese." Thureau-Dangin, E et E, 9-12

This description cannot be the exaggeration of a later historian for we have Ozanam's own words as confirmation.[16] But Lacordaire's success was not to be repeated the following year for, the Conservatives and Carlists in the church, most of whom were Gallicans, taking fright at the phenomenal success of the "Neo-Catholics" as they now began to call them, brought pressure to bear on Mgr. de Quelen. Consequently the next year the Conferences were taken up by another, de Ravignan, who performed his duty well but who did not obtain the sensational success of Lacordaire.

At this point the question may well be asked: why had the "Neo-Catholics" met with such good fortune? It could not have come about through the eagerness of their young leaders alone. The answer is found in the change of mind that had taken place among the people many of whom were now ready, willing and eager to receive the good news the "Neo-Catholics" brought them. There are three principal reasons for the transformation that was taking place in the minds of so many men of the July Revolution. One was the fact that the church now seemed to have lost all vestiges of political power; another cause was that the general mental tendency of the age was a deep melancholy, great discouragement and a consequent seeking for something assured and fixed to which they might attach themselves; while the third reason was the favourable attitude of the "Ministry of All Talents" at the outset of the "Neo-Catholic" movement.

[16] Le grand rendezvous des jeunes gens catholiques et non-catholiques cette année a été à Notre Dame. Tu as sans doute entendu parler des conférences de l'abbé Lacordaire. Elles n'ont eu qu'un défaut, de n'être trop peu nombreuses. Il en a fait huit au milieu d'un auditoire de près de six mille hommes sans compter les femmes. Ces conférences sur l'Église sur sa nécessité, sur son infaillibilité, sa constitution, son histoire, etc., ont toutes été très belles; mais la dernière a été d'une éloquence supérieure à tout ce que j'ai jamais entendu. Mgr. de Quelen, qui avait assisté à toutes les conférences a adressé la dernière fois à M. Lacordaire des remerciements solennels et l'a nominé chanoine de la Cathédrale. Voilà qui nous met du baume dans le sang." Ozanam, 2 Mai 1835. Pages choisies 75.

As soon as it became evident to the people of the time that the church had lost her political prestige and was in fact, being persecuted by her enemies, the "Universitaires," the attitude of the people seemed to change and many of those who had been the first to pursue and attack the Catholic faith now turned to it as the symbol of so many other institutions now menaced by the direction the new government was following. The church appeared to them in a new light, it seemed an institution noble yet humble, necessary and meekly asking their support. If men did not believe in it, they were at least disposed to respect it, and to defend it if menaced. The criticism of religion and the caricatures on the subject, so common a form of attack in the early days of the July Monarchy, now seemed to be fast disappearing, and even those who might have scorned its doctrines recognized its political utility and were not unwilling to assist indirectly in its reestablishment among the people.[17] The situation, then, was not ideal but was certainly far improved from that of former times; at least a political sympathy had been created.

The second fact favouring a religious reaction is probably the most important of the three—the actual mental condition among the people of the time. It is a reason more human and more comprehensive, perhaps, but none the less exact. To understand it, however, it is necessary to recall how in the early days of the July Monarchy, Frenchmen again embued with an overconfident pride, the inevitable result of years of Revolution, had sought to construct not only an original system of political science, but of philosophical thought as well. Some of these creations had lived a short time but all, in the end failed. Then, their self-established creeds and philosophies failing, their political ideals denied them, the men of 1830 found themselves before a great chasm which they themselves

v. chapter I

Thureau-Dangin, II, 357-8

[17] "Ce n'est pas que tous ceux qui se taisent ainsi aient conçu un grand amour pour la religion; mais il est évident qu'au moins ils n'ont plus d'haines contre elle. C'est déjà un grand pas. La plupart des libéraux que les passions irreligieuses avaient jadis poussés à le tête de l'opposition, tiennent maintenant un langage tout différent de celui qu'ils tenaient alors. Tous reconnaissent l'utilité politique d'une religion et déplorent la faiblesse de l'esprit religieux dans la population." de Tocqueville Corresp. ined. Mai, 1835. I. 48.

had created and over which they knew not how to pass. At first too confident in their own hand-made institutions they had been able to forget the gap that had suddenly opened before them, in the distraction of the rapidly passing political events and the hopes attending the early days of the July Monarchy. By 1835, however, they were weary of the rapid political pace they had set, and many also were beginning to feel that perhaps, after all this monarchy that they had created was not to fulfill their highest hopes. It was not long, therefore, until all except those vitally concerned, had lost much of their former interest in the July Monarchy. Already that very mental apathy had set in which Victor Hugo had described in his preface to "le Roi s'amuse." For many, then, the political interest with which they had served to veil the chasm which they must one day cross, was fast disappearing, and, as they gazed over the abyss now become more evident, they found on the other side a deep impenetrable mist made by their own minds. "Le dixhuitième siècle a eu le plaisir de' l'incredulité nous en avons eu la peine, nous en sentons le vide," cried one of their number.[18] Furthermore, this condition of melancholy prevailed not only among those who sought for light and were beginning to find it, but among the most hostile opponents of religion as well.[19] All was permeated with a profound melancholy and a tone of utter despair. And so men's minds were prepared to receive the words of the young enthusiasts.

v. above

[18] de Sacy, "Varietes," II. 6, "de la Réaction religeuse," he continues: "C'est le moment où il n'y a plus rien à attéigner, rien à détruire . . . où l'on s'aperçoit trop souvent, non sans surprise, que l'on a fait le vide en soi-même et autour de soi, ce jour de réveil, c'est notre époque . . . cette incredulité, avec laquelle le 18e siècle marchait si légèrement, pleine de confiance et de folle gaiété, est un poids accablant pour nous, nous levons les yeux en haut, nous y cherchons, une lumière éteinte nous gémissons de ne plus la voir brûler."

[19] v. Jouffroy, "Comment les dogmes finissent." He uttered a veritable wail of despondency. In contrast to this despondency was the attitude of the Neo-Catholics. Ozanam writes: "Tant que durera la vie terrestre du genre humain, le mal est toujours quelque part sur la terre, tantôt comme tyran, tantôt comme esclave. Jamais il ne fait de si redoubtables efforts que lors qu'il voit sa tyrannie lui échapper; pour ressaisir son sceptre qui tombe il remit toutes ses forces; à toute réaction religeuse correspond nécessairement une réaction contraire du

The attitude of the existing ministry was the third factor influencing the beginnings of the "Neo-Catholic" revival. In this factor the new party eventually found a real cause for encouragement. The "Ministry of All Talents" were not blind to the mental tendency we have just been considering, and they soon adopted the policy of encouraging the prevailing disposition to respect religion. From the very outset they had recognized the political utility of Catholicism. The man most responsible for the favorable attitude of the Broglie Cabinet to religion was the Minister of Public Instruction. Although a Protestant, Guizot did not fail to see the very great interest the government should have to favour and foster such a revival as the "Neo-Catholics" were trying to bring about. Upon his entry into the Cabinet, therefore, he set to work at once to resolve the difficult problem which had arisen as to the proper functions of teacher and priest and to reconcile them. Such a policy alone, he thought, would settle the question of instruction in France.

"If the priest defies or isolates himself from the instructor or if the instructor regards himself as the independent rival of the priest and not as his faithful auxiliary, the moral value of the school is lost."[20]

l'impiété. Aussi tandisque le désert se fait autour des idoles du XVIII[e] siecle, tandisque la solitude de nos temples se peuple de nouveau, tandisque l'indifférence s'anéantit et que M. Lacordaire fait tonner la parole de Dieu sur une auditoir e de six mille hommes, le rationalisme n'est point oisif; il multiplie ses revues periodiques, il organise une propagande séductive autour des jeunes gens, il enfonce de ses émissaires et assiége les hommes les plus illustres, il provoque la défection entre ceux qui naguère étaient nos gloires; il détrone l'abbe de La Mennais de ces hauteurs oú son génie et sa foi l'avaient placé; il nous fait trembler pour la muse virginale de Lamartine . . . ces choses sont tristes mais elles sont vraies. Nous sommes punis, catholiques, d'avoir mis plus de confiance dans la génie de nos grands hommes que dans la puissance de Dieu. Nous sommes punis de nous être enorgueillis en leur personne d'avoir repoussé avec quelque fierté les efforts de l'incrédule et de lui avoir montré pour nous justifier à ses yeux, nos philosophes et nos poètes au lieu de lui montrer l'éternelle croix." Ozanam, 16 Mai 1835. Pages choisies 77.

[20] Guizot's own words, Bardoux 67. Guizot is said to have declared before the chambers: "L'instruction morale et religieuse n'est pas, comme le calcul, la géometrie, l'orthographie, une leçon qui se donne

Following out this theory Guizot proceeded to widen the bounds of religious privilege. In the very first year of his administration as Minister of Public Instruction he passed a law allowing the clergy to become members of the Committee supervising primary instruction. Such overtures, however, did not meet without opposition in the Chamber and the same year through the combined efforts of Dupin and Isambert laws were passed depriving the clergy of membership in the "Conseils Généraux" and reducing the number of dioceses.[21] Nevertheless, the church had made a decided advance along the path of governmental recognition and the law of 1833 by allowing the clergy to exert their influence in the Committee on primary instruction practically allowed the existence of private primary schools (for the most part religious) together with the public schools of the first grade in each commune. Later, in 1836, Guizot proposed another law that would have allowed the free concurrence of all private institutions both primary, secondary and superior (University) with State institutions, but this was defeated. He had selected an unfavourable opportunity to present his law, for it was on the very eve of the dissolution of the "Ministry of All Talents." This Cabinet had, however, done much for the cause of the church in recognizing its rights and in declaring in no dubious terms the right of the church to share in matters of public instruction; and later it was to prove a by no means unim-

Law of June 28, 1833

Debidour, E et E 345

Thureau Dangin, II, 342, et seq

v. *Journal des Debats,* Oct., 1835 *Moniteur,* 14 Juin, 1836

en passant à une heure déterminée après laquelle il n'en est pas plus question. La partie scientifique est la moindre de toutes dans l'instruction religieuse. Ce qu'il faut c'est que l'atmosphère générale de l'école soit morale et religieuse. . . . Prenez garde d'un fait qui n'a jamais éclaté avec autant d'évidence que de notre temps . . . le dévelopement intellectuel seul, séparé du developement moral et religieux, devient un principe d'orgueil, d'insubordination, d'égoisime et par conséquent de danger pour la société." Guizot's own words. Thureau Dangin, Hist. Mon., Juillet II, 341.

[21] Among the opposition the general opinion seemed to be that the "Doctrinaires" were again becoming allied with a liberal church party. One paper criticized the ministry in the following terms: "L'association doctrinaire de vouloir relever le clergé catholique de l'impuissance dont l'avait frappé la re'volution de Juillet" and their policy was denounced as "un système suivi de la réaction en faveour du clergé." Constitutionnel, 22 Mai 1833.

portant precedent that in the first years of their activity the "Neo-Catholics" had found political allies timid but willing to accord them the rights they demanded, in spite of the protests of the opposition. This opposition, in turn, instead of proving its boasted strength, betrayed rather its own inherent weakness by its show of fear.

v. London *Times*, Jan. 18, 1833

No party, no matter how ardent and sincere its protests to the contrary, can long exist without entering the field of polemics, and the "Neo-Catholics" were not exceptions to this rule. In fact, the need of some sort of representation in the arena of politics became more urgent every day. Happily, they did not lack fighters who would defend their cause—not by riot as had been the case with their too enthusiastic brethren of the provinces at Clichy in 1833, but in the pulpit and in the chambers. Their preachers were already well known and had been continuing their good work for some time; de Ravignan at Notre Dame, Lacordaire repeating in the the provinces his success at Paris, and Dupanloup at Orleans. A parliamentary champion now appeared in the person of Charles de Montalembert, peer of France. It is at this time that Ozanam, the real founder of the new group, becomes less prominent as the movement assumes more the aspect of a political controversy. His activity within the church, however, lasted until the day of his death. To the stronger and more able, physically, fell the duty of fighting for her political rights. It was not until 1841 that the leaders formed the groups around them into any definite political party, but from 1836 they were regarded as a by no means negligible faction in the political world. What, then, were the political opinions of the leaders? Montalembert in two speeches before the chamber of Peers had declared himself "partisan sincère de la Révolution de Juillet, ami loyal de la dynastie que la répresentait." Lacordaire, on the other hand was not so outspoken. He protested, "je n'ai jamais écrit une ligne qui puisse autoriser la pensée que je suis un démocrate" and he added that he also had not wished to ally himself with the new government. This statement should not be regarded in the light of an evasion or a quibble; it is simply an expression of the lack of party interest Lacordaire professed in politics, a matter entirely subordinate, in his eyes,

Montalembert, "Discours," 19 Mai, 6 Juillet, 1837

Foisset, Montalembert," chs. 4 and 5

to religion.[22] Much later, Louis Veuillot (soon to become the editor of the "Neo-Catholic," paper *l'Univers*) speaking of their political attitude, said: "We accepted 1830 with its charter, its king, its dynasty, and we exerted ourselves simply to obtain from them the rights of the church. We had resolved to lean neither to right nor to left and adopted the policy of no alliance with the Legitimists, no alliance with any faction of the revolutionary parties."[23] It is not difficult to imagine how the Gallicans received the appearance of a church party entertaining such political doctrines and declining to ally themselves with them. Both factions, however, mindful of the Pope's displeasure with Mgr. de Quélen at an earlier date, refrained for the time from any political unions with other parties.[24]

From 1836 the government had a difficult part to play in respect to religion. The office of Minister of Public Instruction came to require a man of almost infinite tact and patience, for he had to steer a course between a discontented clergy, part of whom formed the nucleus of a religious reaction, and a University, now become the center of a Voltarian culte. It will be remembered that during Guizot's tenure of office he had shown himself favourable to the religious reaction; an attitude which he confirmed by articles published after the fall of the "Ministry of All Talents."[25] Under the Molé Cabinet the new party made a further gain, but more in the form of an internal strengthening and upbuilding. Molé had said: "The clergy shall be the sublime preserver of public order," and then he had proceeded to leave the church free to act in its own internal affairs. It was exactly the opportunity the "Neo-Catholics" needed. Their progress must not be too rapid and Molé's policy allowed them the opportunity for internal development. In 1835 Lacordaire had retired from the pulpit of Notre Dame and had spent the following year carrying the conferences into the provinces. This work com-

Ibid., Oct., 1838 "Du Catholicisme et de la Philosophie en France

Thureau Dangin, E et E, 63

v. d'Haussonville, Chap. VI

Thureau Dangin, II, 339

[22] Lacordaire's own words. Thureau Dangin, E et E 57. d'Haussonville. 134.

[23] Louis Veuillot's own words. Thureau Dangin, E et E 59.

[24] Le Correspondant, 10 Sept. 1872.

[25] V. Revue Française, Fev. 1838. "De la Religion dans les Sociétés Modernes."

V. Genin, "Ou l'Église ou l'État

pleted, he made a second visit to Rome and while there he received the habit of St. Dominique. Then, returning to France he reestablished the order within its very borders. This action has two significant phases; it marks the commencement of the return to France of the orders—the Trappists, Jesuits, and Carthusians came back in flocks; but it may also be said to denote the alliance of certain of these orders with the "Neo-Catholic" movement; Lacordaire of *l'Avenir* and "Conférences de Notre Dame" fame a Dominican! The contrast is still more heightened by the appointment of de Ravignan, his successor at Notre Dame, as provincial of the Company of Jesus in France. For the moment it really seemed as if the eyes of Rome were opening to the importance of the "Jeunesse Libérale." Other orders quickly followed in the footsteps of their more daring predecessors. In 1837 there were four hundred establishments of the Lazaristes in France with a capital of 20,000,000 francs, while the Sisters of Charity numbered six thousand. Protests from the opposition became more frequent but the attitude of Molé and the "Juste Milieu" party was a guarantee of protection to them. Molé's action, however, was not entirely disinterested, for he saw in the church a barrier against republican and socialistic doctrines. Still another fact now apparent for the first time, assisted the new group; Louis Philippe began to coquette with them. He now seemed desirous of forgetting his revolutionary origin; What better way offered itself than in the protection and support of the church? The crosses that had been torn down from the tribunals at the time of the July Revolution were now set up and adorned once more all the public courts. It was indeed, a curious change that had come about. What had the opposition to say to it? Their view is curious:

v. Thureau Dangin, III, ch. IX

Debidour, E et E, 437

"We are Catholics, barely Catholics by name, Catholics without faith, without practice, and they warn us lest we fall under the yoke of the ultramontane orders! In truth, let us look at ourselves more closely, and let us try to become better acquainted with ourselves. Let us believe in the appearance and in the truths of those liberties, those institutions of which we are so proud. Great philosophers that we are, let us at least believe in our philosophy."

Journal des Debats, 4 Janv., 1839

Shortly after the return of the orders to France Lacordaire published his "Mémoire pour le retablissement en France des Frères Prêcheurs." The same year witnessed the appearance of Louis Blanc's "Organization of Labour." It seemed as if the government would have to choose between the two extremes these books represented. In the interim, a progressive ministry came in and by Thiers' appointment, Cousin, a known enemy of the church despite his many protestations to the contrary, became Minister of Public Instruction. The "Neo-Catholics" restrained themselves no longer, but demanded the privilege of the charter not for themselves alone but for all. Their protest against Cousin was not long in vain, for, Louis Philippe, duped by Metternich, soon caused Thiers' withdrawal and Guizot was called in to repair the evil he had done.

Throughout the entire period of Parliamentary Rivalry and Decline, then, "La Jeunesse Romantique et Catholique" of Paris continued to gain more adherents and sympathy in the political, intellectual and social world. The chronicles of the time are filled with accounts of the activities and interests of such men as the leaders we have mentioned, and too, of Ampère, of the salon of Madame Swetchine and the beautiful story of Soeur Rosalie. It is true, these are all individual cases but they may be taken as reliable indications of what was going on under the surface of Society—a regeneration of humanity and of the church, as La Mennais had called for eight years before, and once humanity and the church set on the road to reform under the guidance of these leaders, the preparation for a great struggle for liberties not Gallican, but those promised by the Charter to which they had all sworn allegiance. Why were Louis Philippe and his ministers so blind to this regenerating force now preparing? Why did they not share in its reform, adopt its sincerity and emulate its noble aims and acts? While the old institution, a monarchical principle, was entering upon its last phase, a new-old institution returning to its own had entered upon its ascendancy. Patient hands were to show the church, no longer mistaken in her children, the way to success—a way requiring the abnegation of old and perhaps wrongly sought glories, in order to gain the great prizes of the spirit. On the 26th of August, 1839, Frederic Ozanam wrote to Lacordiare:

v. Jean Laur, "La Femme Chretienne au XIX^e Siecle"

"Lettres," Madame Swetchine L. Masson, "Soeur Rossalie"

"Every day the number of those among the clergy increases who understand that virtue without science is not sufficient in the priesthood. And too, among the influential laymen who, in past years have so often interfered in our diocesan affairs, there are now those who are beginning to see that the faith suffers from the alliance with political passions and interests—an alliance with which they have compromised it."

Ozanam to Lacordaire, 26 Oct., 1839 Pages-choisies, 96

The lesson was being rapidly learned; the struggle was no longer far off.

CHAPTER V

THE "NEO-CATHOLICS" AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The year 1840 witnessed the inauguration of a policy of personal government under a ministry the nominal head of which was Soult, but the actual leader of the Cabinet was Guizot. This policy lasted eight years and during the period when it was enforced many important movements took place, the most prominent being: the rise of Radicalism engendered by changed economic conditions, the transformation of the July Monarchy from a professedly liberal institution to the reactionary principles of Metternich and the Holy Alliance, the struggle for liberty of instruction carried on by the "Neo-Catholics," the growth of the Socialism of Louis Blanc and the institution of Reform Banquets by Lamartine.

The period of Rivalry and Parliamentary Decline had nearly laid low the July Monarchy.[1] There followed a period of an apparently scrupulous form of parliamentary government that gave to France a semblance of outward stability and hid from many observant eyes the fact that the July Monarchy was undergoing a process of inward decay. In fact so strong was the external appearance of the country, that most of France and many outside observers were astounded when the government fell. They had failed to perceive that for over eight years it had been rotting at the core from a political disease, corruption, the most fatal and inevitable malady of every government that does not know its own mind. When the July Monarchy had been founded the bourgeoisie had believed that in so doing they were saving France not only from anarchy and another phase of the dreadful revolution, but were also securing national honour and safeguarding the vested interests. How

[1] About this time Lamartine is said to have remarked: "La France est une nation qui s'ennuie." Thureau Dangin 105.

had they been deceived! Vested interests alone had been preserved, and these in turn were becoming more and more insecure through the rise of Socialism; Louis Blanc's ideas as exemplified in the national workshop would reverse all idea of vested property.[2] In securing national honour they had met with equal failure. It was denied in the Ancona affair and again by the Quadrilateral Treaty. Nor had they succeeded in preventing a still greater evil, for, they had seen anarchy in the streets of Lyons in 1834 and in 1836, in the April Days at Paris, and in the Morey-Fieschi episode. And all these disturbances were repeated during Guizot's last term of office! It is not surprising, then, to find at this time a marked tendency to return to the old in politics, philosophy, and religion. This happened in many cases, and to those who did not seek refuge in the old, what resulted? A political apathy—soon to be eating the very heart and core out of the "Bourgeois Monarchy." It was to be, then, the reign of selfish interests, a time when men's minds were taken up with their own personal preoccupations. By day men laboured for themselves alone, and when the day was over and they returned to their comfortable homes it was only natural that their minds should turn to the old and better times. Not to the time of the Bourbons and Louis XVI, that was too remote after the centuries of progress they had traversed in so brief a space of years; nor yet to Charles X and the "Congrégation," that was too recent an experience, but rather to Napoleon and his glories now more vivid and real because of the recent national funeral offered by Louis Philippe to him. It was then to Napoleon and his conquests that the bourgeois turned, he had forgotten the horrors of the glorious years of the First Empire. With the workers it was different. They commenced to read their paper—the *Journal du Peuple*—written by Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin and containing a veritable hodge-podge of Utopian schemes in which Individualism, Communism, the Socialism of the National Workshops, the Religion of Reason and Anarchism were mingled inextricably. Such was their daily mental food. The middle-class, in turn, had found its solace in Republicanism, really the Socialism of the "petit commerçant." Their paper was the *National,* edited by

[2] v. L. Blanc, "Organisation du Travail."

the gallant young Arago, Carnot and Garnier Pages, men who, at least showed their good sense in that they advised their readers to bide their time.

With such a state of affairs all over the country it is indeed surprising that one man coming to power at that time was able to conceal this condition from the eyes of many of his contemporaries. Yet this was the task Guizot accomplished, and though his methods were not of the most estimable, still he well merits the praise bestowed on him for having kept Louis Philippe on the throne eight years more. He was indeed a past-master at this kind of game.

Guizot, himself, speaking of this period has said: "Before entering on public life I witnessed the Revolution and the Empire; I saw as clearly as day their faults and disasters spring from their alternating prepossessions of mind and force; the Revolution gave itself up to a flood of innovations; the Empire to a torrent of conquests; warnings were not wanting to each system; for both, sound policy was no secret tardily disclosed; it was repeatedly indicated to them by the events and sages of the time. They rejected it at all hands; the Revolution lived under the yoke of popular passions, the Emperor under the bondage of his own. This cost the Revolution the liberties it had proclaimed, the Empire the conquests it had achieved, and France immense afflictions and sacrifices. I carried into public life the constant remembrance of these two examples and a resolution instinctive rather than premeditated, to search out all occasions for sound policy, conformable to the interests and rights of the country, and to bow beneath no other control. He who does not maintain, in judgment and conduct, sufficient independence to see things as they truly are, and what they counsel and command irrespective of the prejudices and passions of men, is neither worthy nor capable of governing. The representative system, it is true, renders this independence of mind and action more difficult to governing power, for it has precisely the object of assuring to the governed, to their ideals and sentiments as well as to their interests a large share of influence in the conduct of affairs, but the difficulty does not do away with the necessity; and the institutions which procure the intervention of the country in affairs would guarantee but

little good management, if they reduced the ministers to docile agents of popular ideas and wishes."[3]

From this statement of the former professor of history, it may be seen very clearly how simple a matter it would be for him to revert, if it would really be a reversion, consciously or unconsciously, to old doctrines. For after all it was nothing less than the restatement of these same principles couched in more modern language. When the time came, therefore, Metternich knew he would not have much trouble with Guizot, now that Thiers was practically silenced, though at this time he was still a member of the Cabinet. Any move of Metternich's at this juncture, however, would have been inadvisable for, the relations between England and France were for the moment of too intimate a nature. Guizot himself seemed anxious to re-establish the *entente cordiale* and with Thiers muffled, this became a comparatively simple matter, after Guizot's party had temporarily allied itself with the Left. Hardly had this been accomplished, however, when the country was confronted with a very serious problem, that of the succession. On the 13th of July, 1843, the duc d'Orleans was killed in an accident. France was thrown into despair, for such a contingency had never been foreseen or even considered. People turned in hope to the Charter, but they found there no provision for the succession.[4] It was decided that the regency should be entrusted to the duc de Nemours in the event of Louis Philippe's death.

The English *entente* settled, the problem of the regency satisfactorily resolved, and the last trials attending the Boulogne Fiasco of Louis Napoleon finished, the field of political controversy seemed fairly clear. It was then that the question of secondary instruction as promised by the Charter in Article Sixty-Nine presented itself. Guizot may have congratulated himself at the time that apparently so trivial a matter was to

[3] Guizot, "Memoirs," VII, 3.

[4] de Broglie said: "Everyone in thought, calculated the number of years which henceforward divide the heir to the throne from the age when he will be able to grasp with a firm hand the sceptre of his grandsire, the sword of his father; everyone asked himself what would happen in the interval, if the days of the king were not measured by the wishes of his people and the wants of the State; everyone interrogated the Charter and regretted its silence." Guizot, "France under Louis Philippe," 21.

demand the attention of the chambers, but later he certainly had occasion to regret his earlier self-felicitations. During the preceding ministry (March 1-October 29, 1840), the Neo-Catholics had remained quiet but they had by no means been inactive. They felt their opportunity was approaching and they but gained more strength and influence in waiting. In July of that year Ozanam had written:

"It is apparent that the movement which has been carried on under different forms, from time to time feeble or violent, pusillanimous or indiscreet, philosophical and literary, the movement which has animated the "Correspondent," the "Révue Europenne," "l'Avenir," "l'Université," "les Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne," the "Conférences de Notre Dame," the Benedictines of Solesmes, the Dominicans following the abbé Lacordaire, and even the small "société Saint Vincent de Paul," all of them facts very unequal in importance and merit, it is evident, I say, that this movement, the character of which has been altered and adopted to suit the circumstances, is beginning to carry with it the destinies of the country. At first justified by the proselytising which resulted among unbelievers, by the strengthening of faith in many souls who, without its aid perhaps, would have lost their faith, and fortified by the constant adherence of some of the most distinguished men in the priesthood, behold it now encouraged by the patronage of the new episcopacy, and the triple nomination of Affre, Gousset and de Bonald to the three principal episcopal thrones in France, raises necessarily the long quarantine that our ideas, a little suspected perhaps, have had to undergo."[5]

But this good fortune, the nomination of the three priests, was emphasized by other developments following closely upon the appointment of the "Neo-Catholic" sympathizers. The one was the appearance in the pulpit of the Notre Dame of Lacordaire wearing the Dominican habit, while the other development was the outcome of the appointment of Affre as Archbishop of Paris; cordial relations sprang up between the Tuileries and the Episcopal Palace.[6] Certainly the fortunes of

[5] Ozanam, 12 Juillet 1840.

[6] A propos of Lacordaire's appearance in Notre Dame wearing the Dominican habit, one authority remarks: "Après celà n'était-il pas fondé à dire en montrant sa robé Je suis une liberté?" Thureau-Dangin, Mon. Juillet V, 462.

the church had changed from those early days, ten years before, when the clergy, suffering from "mort civile" feared to show themselves on the street. The time seemed ripe to demand their promised liberties; the "Neo-Catholics" no longer hesitated. Consequently in May of that same year (1840) appeared a pamphlet entitled "le Monopole Universitaire devoilé à la France libérale et à la France catholique par une société d'écclésiastiques, sous la presidence de l' abbé Rohrbacher." This work contained a criticism of the teachings of the University, citing examples of the coures given by Cousin, Jouffroy, Quinet, Michelet, Libri and Mickiewicz.[7] It made three charges: that the present system of instruction tended to decatholicize France,[8] that the Eclecticism of Cousin was a dangerous philosophy leading inevitably to pantheism or deism; and that it was the duty of parents to instruct and protect their children's souls, and not a duty of the state. Such in brief was the content of this pamphlet, the indirect influence of which was to be more far reaching perhaps than had been the intention of its unknown author.

What, then, was the "Monopole Universitaire?" In short, by the Code that Napoleon had introduced regulating education in France, all schools and universities were under the direct control of the council of the University at Paris, and all private schools must receive the sanction of the University for their existence; their professors must have passed the examinations required by the University, and in addition these private schools must pay what was called a "tribut d'allégeance" or "rétribution Universitaire." Furthermore unless it was proven that a student had received his education either at the public schools or at one of these favoured private institutions, he could not be admitted to receive his "baccalauréat." Thus the University of Paris was enabled to exercise a real monopoly over all education in France, be it secondary or su-

[7] It is difficult to establish the authorship of this pamphlet. Debidour (l'Eglise et l'Etat 444-5) says: "Cet ouvrage inspiré par les Jésuites de Nancy, avait été rédigé par un prêtre de cette ville nommé Jacot, et l'auteur est d'autant moins excusable qu'il appartenait lui-méme à l'Université comme aumonier."

[8] v. "Le Monopole Universitaire dévoilé."

perior.[9] The sole exception to this rule was the case of the small seminaries that, under the Restoration, had been placed under the direct supervision of the bishops. But this exception was only a favour and might be withdrawn at any time.

The opponents of this system based their protest on Article sixty-nine, heading eight of the Charter—which read:

"The following subjects shall be provided for successively by separate laws within the shortest possible space of time;[10] . . . 8th, Public instruction and the liberty of teaching."

The question of instruction was indeed a debt against the Orleanists which must be cancelled, but how? That was the difficult question confronting Louis Philippe and his ministers.[11]

It was not until 1841, however, that the "Neo-Catholics" assumed a hostile attitude to the "Monopole Universitaire." In the meantime, the leaders were trying to persuade M. Cousin and later M. Villemain, his successor, to listen to their protests. With Villemain, in particular, this was difficult to do. But the younger leaders and some of their older ecclesiastical superiors persisted in their efforts, for they felt that an amicable solution was the most desirable and, furthermore, they believed that certain members of the government were at the time kindly disposed to them. Moreover, in this their hopes do not seem to have been founded on mere hearsay. On the first of January, 1841, Louis Philippe had said to Mgr. Affre:

"The more difficult the task of my government becomes, the more need it has of the assistance and co-operation of all those who desire the maintenance of order and the reign of the laws . . . It is this moral assistance and support of all good people that will give to my government the force necessary to accomplish the duties it has been called upon to fulfill. And I place among the first and foremost of these the duty of aiding in the advancement and furthering of religion, of combating immorality and of showing to the world, no matter what the detractors of France have said to the contrary, that the

[9] The significance of these terms is about as follows:
Primary—primary grade.
Secondary—high school and part college grade.
Superior—university or graduate school grade.

[10] "Article 69, Charter 1830," Anderson Const. Docs. No. 105.

[11] "Hist. de Louis Philippe et d'Orleanism," 430 et seq. J. Crétineau-Joly.

respect of religion, morality and virtue is still the ruling sentiment among the majority of us."[12]

There was, moreover, still another fact that predisposed the government and many of the people as well, to regard the prospect of a struggle over the liberty of instruction as a happy occasion whereby public opinion might be diverted from the contemplation of a more serious evil. Socialism had become more of a menace. Its ideas were embodied in the theory of Communism.

One contemporary wrote at this time:[14]

"The day is not far distant when all this bourgeois comedy in France, along with its heroes and comrades of the parliamentary stage, will experience a terrible end amid hisses and scornful cries, and following this comedy they will present an epilogue entitled "The Reign of the Commune."

It was to avoid this "Epilogue" that the government sought a distraction. The first strike at Lyons, the great revolt of 1836, the April Days, the *Journal du Peuple* and the Labour programme of Louis Blanc, then, had not been in vain. The Industrial revolution continued, casting aside manual labour, sowing famine and discontent everywhere. It made its slow and inevitable progress along the poor streets of manufacturing towns, tearing men from the earning of their daily bread, and making no provision for their future needs. Machinery taught men far more than the wild and imaginative preachings of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, the principles of socialism,[15] Proudhon had cried: "la propriété, c'est le vol." It is no wonder that the government trembled. In opposition to this

[12] Moniteur, 2 Janv. 1841. In Guizot, too, they found an ally; he said: "Wherever the principle of liberty of instruction is admitted, it ought to be loyally exercised, without any attempt or subterfuge to give and withhold at the same time. In an epoch of publicity and discussion, nothing injures governments more than deceitful promises and false words."[13]

(Strange words these, when one considers the Cabinet's subsequent policy in regard to the question Guizot was discussing!)

[13] Guizot: "France under Louis Philippe," 1841-1847, 348.

[14] H. Heine, Lutiee, 209.

[15] "Subversive doctrines have taken hold of the lower classes of France. They demand now not only equality before the law but also equality in the right to enjoy all the fruits of this earth." H. Heine, Lutiee, 210.

vast wave of revolt spreading over France, what had the government to offer but the teachings of the old school of economics with its time-worn adage of "laisser-faire?" This was of no assistance. Guizot and his satellites were fully aware of its utter uselessness, and, following the example of one of their predecessors, they sought a distraction for the country in the vain hope that, in addition to serving the purpose of a blind, the government might also find in it a useful and helpful ally. The question of the liberty of instruction was therefore allowed to come before the legislature.

Unfortunately, the first advances of the government were awkward. In 1841 Villemain proposed his law on public instruction and at the very outset the author made a statement sufficient in itself to turn the sympathies of the "Neo-Catholics" from the bill:

"Liberty of instruction might have been admitted in principle, but it is not essential (to political liberty) and the very nature of political liberty has frequently been marked by the exclusive influence and absolute control of the state in the education of its youth."

In such a fashion the new law proposed to recognize the promise of liberty of teaching made in the Charter! Its other provisions were in accord with its preamble; private institutions were to be submitted to certain requirements of University training, and state certificates of ability which the "Neo-Catholics" could not accept. Furthermore, while the small seminaries were no longer restricted in the matter of the number of candidates, they were at the same time placed under the direct supervision of the State.[16] After a brief discussion the law was withdrawn. Nearly everyone recognized it as a veiled deception offered to the "Neo-Catholics."[17] Was Guizot responsible? This seems doubtful for he was minister of foreign affairs, and was at this time much engrossed in the rehabilitation of the English entente. It was probably the work of Villemain alone, based to a certain extent on an unfinished project prepared by his predecessor, Cousin.

The results of the law were unfortunate for the government and for the ministry as well. Almost at the beginning of their

[16] Debidour, E et E. 447.

[17] Thureau- Dangin Mon. Juillet, V. 465.

"rapprochement" with this new Catholic party, the government had played false with them—the result was to be an active campaign and a feeling of hostility that became more evident as the new group approached their goal. The "Neo-Catholics" now felt themselves fully justified in taking a more definite stand and in commencing the struggle in real earnest. The idea of a "parti catholique" was nascent. This time, however, the former disciples of La Mennais would be more careful. Profiting by their earlier experiences they wisely made three resolutions; that their propaganda must not include a great number of subjects but one alone, the liberty of instruction; that they must not seek to destroy but rather to reform; and that they must have the support of a certain number of the higher clergy. This last stipulation was, without a doubt, the most significant for them, and the very nature of Villemain's law made it possible. For, alarmed by the attack made on their own powers in the clause regarding the small seminaries, the bishops prepared to join in the demands of the growing party of "Neo-Catholics." Forty-nine or fifty-six of them are said to have protested. Their first method of attack took the form of recriminations against the University, of vague charges of immorality rather than definite accusations against the professors and criticisms of their philosophical teachings.[18] In many cases these attacks went too far and the over-zealous action of the pamphleteers tended rather to hinder than assist their cause. But there were others among the "Neo-Catholics" who knew the weakest point in their adversaries' armour, and in directing their energies to this single point they not only gained honour for their cause, but also won the sympathies, and in some cases, the help of those who, up to this time, had been mere interested onlookers. This was the harm Villemain's law did to his own cause, the cause of the University; it laid bare the philosophy of Cousin, the head, to the shafts of his enemies; there was the University's weakest point.

v. Lacordaire a Montalembert, 30 Sept., 1844

Thureau-Dangin, E et E, 142

v. Mgr. Affre, "Observations"

[18] v. p. ex Desgaretes "Monopole Universitaire." Vedrine: "Simple coup d'oeil sur les douleurs et les espérances de l'Eglise aux prises avec les tyrans des consciences et des vices du XIX^{e} siècle." Debidour (Eglise et l'Etat 450) even accuses some of the pamphleteers of falsifying texts quoted from Quinet, Michelet, Libri, etc., but we have failed to find a corroboration of this statement elsewhere.

Victor Cousin is one of the most pathetic characters of the entire period of the July Monarchy. Brilliant and gifted he was hindered by a manner and delivery so grotesque as almost to detract from the force of anything he said or did. Conscientious to an extreme, upon his installation as head of the University he had taken far too seriously his duties and the importance of the institution he represented. The University of Paris became to his eyes the entire world of science, and therefore, the philosophy of the University, his philosophy, Eclecticism became in his mind the philosophy, almost the religion, of the world. It would not be an exaggeration to say that what he considered Catholicism to have been for the past centuries, he expected Eclecticism to become for the future. From Hegel he borrowed pantheism and from Schelling deism. All truth is known, but it is found scattered in a thousand different systems in all of which the truth is mingled with the false. It is only necessary to discover in each system that part conformable to the truth and to unite the parts of the truth thus found in order to establish the full complement of truth. The method by which this is done is known as Eclecticism, and during the years 1830 and 1840 it was the philosophy of the greater number of the Universities. To the claims made by the Catholics that Eclecticism was opposed to Christianity, Cousin replied that his philosophy and the Christian faith were one and the same. But the results as seen in the University did not tend to confirm this rather surprising statement. In the first place, the actions of the head himself have shown that his own views were uncertain and unstable, and he was regarded as a charlatan by some of his contemporaries; he frequently changed his attitude and at the end of his life practically renounced his entire system of philosophy. Certainly his thesis that Christianity and Eclecticism were one, did not seem to hold, for Christianity lost each day in the alliance, and the students came out from the University with a very vague and uncertain idea of the truths of the faith.[19]

v. *"L' Univers,"* 18 Mars, 1843

v. Cousin, "du Vrai du Beau et du Bien"

v. Sainte-Beuve

"Chroniques parisiennes," 151-152

H. Heine, "Franzosische Zustüde," I I, 260-261

[19] "Quoi qu'on puisse dire pour ou contre, en louant ou en blâmant, on ne sort guére Chrétien des écoles de l'Universite." Sainte-Beuve "Chroniques parisiennes," 100 ets. "J'ai le droit de signaler tout ce que j'ai trouvé dans l'enseignement donné an collège de France, comme

v. Comte de Maistre Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions politiques

v. p. ex. Quinet "Un Mot sur la polemique religieuse," Rev. des deux Mondes, 15 Avril 1842

The courses of Michelet, Quinet, Mickiewicz and Jouffroy were such as to warrant this assertion. Furthermore, the attitude of the University itself to its opponents is not convincing. Their reply took the form of recriminations against the morality of the Catholics and their institutions of learning, rather than a critique of their doctrines. The controversy between the two soon became a question of politics and the University was upheld by the opposition in the *"National," "Courier Français." "Constitutionnel"* and *"Journal des Débats."*[20] In the press the "Neo-Catholics" found little support. The one great Catholic paper *Ami de la Religion et du Roi* regarding them as the mental offspring of La Mennais, rather damned them by its silence, and the *Union Catholique,* a small paper was the only one to support them. The new Catholics needed an official organ; happily they did not lack one for long. Early in the year 1843 the *Union Catholique* combined with another paper *l'Univers* and under the editorship of Louis Veuillot it entered the field of controversy.

The paper, *l'Univers* had existed for sometime, having, been founded shortly after 1830 by the abbé Migne, but it was not until the arrival of Louis Veuillot on the scene that it became at all well known. The resemblance of *l'Univers* and *l'Avenir* of the earlier school, is striking, and it lies not merely in the fact that the two papers were the mouthpieces of the Liberal Roman Catholics. Their similarity is still more evident in the characters of the two editors-in-chief; Louis Veuillot employed the same tactics in the struggle for liberty that La Mennais had used.[21] Louis Veuillot had declared "Notre rôle est le combat dans la patience et dans la charité." But there was too much of La Mennais in him to be always patient and charitable, and it will be seen in following the course events took during the "Neo Catholic" Movement that

étant peu conforme à la morale publique et à nor dogmes religieux." Testimony of M. de L'Aspinasse before the Chamber of Peers. Moniteur, 10 Juillet 1844, Supp. No. 192.

[20] Nearly every issue of these papers for the year 1842 contains articles praising the University.

[21] "Dejà sous la Restauration Lamennais avait introduit dans la polémique des habitudes de violence de sarcasme et d'outrage. M. Veuillot, sous ce rapport, fut son hèritier direct." Thureau-Dangin: Mon. Juillet V, 437.

more than once *l'Univers* assumes the language of *l'Avenir* in discussing the University, the Church and the government.[22] By 1843, then, the "Neo-Catholics" had found support in the press; articles now began to appear frequently from their pens—all demanding the liberty of instruction. This same year Montalembert published a pamphlet showing clearly the position of his party in regard to the government. They no longer feared it. The pamphlet bore the title "Devoir des Catholiques dans la question de la liberté de l'Enseignment" and basing his argument on the words of our Blessed Lord "docentes omnes gentes" he declared "l'éducation est une partie pratique de la religion et comme un droit inhérent au sacerdoce." Moreover, by citing the sinister example of events in Belgium, he recalled to his readers' minds the fact that it was the "Neo-Catholics" and Jesuits in that country who had brought about the Revolution of August 1830. He then proposed the formation of a "Neo-Catholic" Party to protect the church's rights.[23] Aided by the bishops he formed the "Association Catholique" an ultramontane society whose rule was to be absolute submission to the wishes of the Pope. A lay committee was appointed to work out a plan of compaign for religious freedom, and of this committee Montalembert[24] became the chairman. Their programme and their challenge to the government was sent far and wide. We quote from the paper so soon to be joined to *"l'Univers":*

Montalembert: "Devoir des Catholiques dans la question de la liberté de l'enseignement"

Deledom, "E et E," 455

"If again you were only compromising your own existence, it

[22] For a most striking example of this resemblance: "Cherchant reconcilier les besoins de catholicisme avec les entrainements les plus légitimes de ce siécle, qui est le notre et nous acceptons, nous avons fait retentir d'une voix convaincue un cri d'alliance entre l'Evangile et la charte . . . Dieu et la liberté." L'Univers, 2 Janvier 1845. v. also L'Univers, 7 Juin 1843.

[23] In discussing the University, however, Montalembert did not fail to render homage to the lectures of F. Ozanam and Lenormant. v. "Devoir des Catholiques, etc."

[24] About the same time there appeared in the *Union Catholique* the following appeal for freedom: "Les Catholiques, les Protestants, les Juifs de la France ont donc ensemble le droit d'obtenir la liberté promise pour l'enseignement. Vous ne repoussez pas les voeux lêgitimes. Ainsi vous honorerez votre legislature, et vous sauverez en méme temps la France des malheurs que les fausses doctrines preparent pour les peuples." L'Union Catholique, 12 Janvier 1843.

would matter but little to us, and placed, as we are in a sphere superior to your narrow little rivalries, to your petty triumphs and to your miserable defects, we might well consider you with all the sangfroid with which the Agamemmons of the stage receive their catastrophes. But from these disorders which you foment and create "Quiquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi." If you are the kings of today we are the Archeans, and we pay for your foolish acts; that, at least, gives us the right to complain. And then, behind us and with us is France, the France which you are disorganizing, which you are torturing at will, which has need of peace, order, hierarchy, regeneration, and to whom you offer only the spectacle of your follies, the fruits of your errors, the heritage of your discords; the France for whose welfare you are responsible to God and to Frenchmen, the France that endures and tolerates you, so that you may not fortify yourselves again under the cover of the necessity of a contested existence and the imperious exigency of saving yourselves at all costs."[25]

"L'Union Catholique, 12 Janvier, 1843"

This passage has been quoted in full because it is an example of the very earliest propaganda of the now fully organized "Neo-Catholic" Party, its language is sufficient evidence of the strength to which they had attained in so short a time. On the first of February, 1843, then, the two papers combined. Their first editorial is strikingly similar to La Mennais' first editorial in *l'Avenir*:

"Catholics avant tout, united as brothers, we bring to the common cause of the Church and the country, the sincere efforts of our zeal. Above all the petty occupations of time and matter, to which they seem to have relegated the world of political science, where interests and opinions are being agitated which

[25] Again, on the anniverary of the death of Louis XVI the same paper wrote: "Non! Non! la révolution ne s'est pas arrêtée. Commencée il y a trois siècles sur la place de Wittenberg, continuée a White Hall et sur la place Louis XV, reprise a l'Hôtel de Ville, elle ne cessera que par un repentir sincère, par une profonde et lente expiation, elle ne cessera que par un retour aux vérités et aux principes dont elle est la négation vivante". L'Union Catholique" 21 Janvier 1843.

For the view of a neighbouring country v. quotation from an editorial in *Morning Post,* quoted in *L'Union Catholique,* 28 Janvier 1843.

tend too often to divide men, the faith has appeared as a peaceful and regenerating power. Sovereign and divine truth cannot refuse to exercise the right to rule the people; its influence, recognized and accepted, alone can place public prosperity on a solid basis. Such has been and such always will be our belief.

"Furthermore a movement is undeniably at work deep down in the conscience of all Frenchmen, in favor of Catholicism; to refuse to recognize it would be a strange act of blindness. It is to second this work, to develop the action and influences of the Catholic spirit in the heart of this country, that we consecrate all our efforts."

l'Univers, 1 Février, 1843

The newspaper was received, of course, with some hostility, but most of its contemporaries ignored, for the time, its existence. This reception, however, did not calm its zeal. The first question asked of it was an explanation of its political views. Their reply was concise and neat:

v. Quotidienne, 1 1 Fév., 1843

"Religion is self-sufficient; it has no more need of politics than God has of man; but man could not do without God, nor can politics live without a fundamental basis and a superior principle. Religion alone is this principle and furnishes this basis, and religion is, therefore, the only, the most important, and the most telling of all political things."

l'Univers, 6 Fév., 1843

Despite the rather bold language of the early numbers of *l'Univers* in regard to religion and to politics it had been very cautious, and wisely so, in one respect. It had been common gossip that Louis Veuillot had been placed at the head of the paper principally to combat the "Monopole Universitaire" and yet so far reference had only been made to it in a vague and general way, attacking its morality. Questions again were asked, but the editors were patiently awaiting a good opportunity to strike. It was in March of that year that the occasion appeared. Villemain presented a law requiring the students of the "École Polytechnique" to take the "baccalauréat" examinations stipulated for all schools. A great howl of protest arose; de Carné supported by such men of the Left as Barrot, de Tocqueville and Billaudel protested against the plan and *L'Univers* supported them in condemning what it called the insatiable greed of the "Universitaires" for power. It was then that Louis Veuillot launched forth his dictum showing clearly

v. *l'Univers*, Nos. 20 et 25, Février 7-10, Mars, 1843

l'Univers, 6 Avril, 1843

the stand the paper would take in the matter of public instruction.

"The charter has declared the principle of liberty of instruction; petitions, come from all corners of France, demand this promise of the Constitution, and the rights inscribed in the justice and nature of things as in the Constitution. The power of the father, the sacred prerogatives of the family, the most inviolable titles of the citizen combine to reclaim this liberty. The powers (the government) reply with a panegyric on the "Monopole"; they defend the "Monopole," they expatiate upon its pretended benefits; they hope to provoke its necessity. We seriously call the attention of all Catholics and of all honest people to this affair. It is of prime necessity for the interest, honour and future welfare of the country; it is well worth a portefolio quarrel (Cabinet quarrel). It is not a question of who are the ministers, but of what they are doing. Betray the charter, deceive the hopes of religion, violate the principles of the most simple and most evident equity, that is a thing that no man may do, even if he have the majority of the two chambers to support him."[26]

l'Univers, 1843 13 Mars

What was the attitude of the University to these protests? Heretofore they had attempted to reply by proving that their philosophy was not opposed to Christianity. This, as has been seen, they failed to accomplish successfully. Then, they instituted a policy of recrimination. This, in turn, failed.

Now, in a last desperate attempt they inaugurated the scheme of attacking the Jesuits with the hope that they might in this day avert the flood of charges now being turned against the University by the "Neo-Catholics" and win more adherents to

[26] It is interesting to note that this opinion was not held by *"L'Univers"* alone. One journal criticises the Monopole as follows: "L'Université est l'oeuvre de déspotisme impérial. Le conquérant législateur qui avait soumis 45 millions d'hommes à sa seule volonté, avait besoin que l'on crût en lui à sa mission à sa suprematie, à son infaillibilité; il unit l'enseignement à son profit personnel par un simple décret, comme s'il fut agi d'une levée des conscrits." It then asks what need has France of this system today. *National,* 18 Avril 1843. Another paper of different opinions writes: "M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique vient de rédiger un rapport claire, parfaitment écrit, sagement pensé . . . les journaux hostiles a l'Université declarent que M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique a menti," *Constitutionel,* 18 Mars. 1843.

its side. In so doing, however, the Universitaires only betrayed the symptoms of their own internal weakness. All were not blind to this, and one paper, not of "Neo-Catholic" sympathies, remarked:

Le *National*, 18 Avril, 1843

"What ought the University to fear when it has the favour and support of the government, the subsidies of the budget, the co-operation and affiliation of the academies who count among their numbers the greatest philosophers, the most illustrious scholars and the most celebrated savants? It must have very little confidence in itself, very little faith in its own mission, to see in a few rival schools set up beside those of the University, its own destruction."

v. *Constitutionnel*, 5 Mai, 1843

The first evidence of the "aux Jésuites" agitation inaugurated by the "Universitaires" is found in the press. Some of the newspapers of the day and even the Court journals, seemed to have the impression that the "Neo-Catholic" party was a Legitimate clique. In fact, about this same time a rumour was circulated at the Tuileries to the effect that the Jesuits were instigating a reaction against the King. Pamphlets appeared written for the most part by the "Universitaires," confirming the rumour and, profiting by the already unsavoury reputation of that order in past times the authors allowed their imagination free rein in depicting in vivid colours the future evils France would suffer under the order. Even Villemain, in a discourse pronounced shortly before this time is said to have declared that the country needed a controversialist to fight against "cette société remuante et impérieuse que l'esprit de gouvernement et l'esprit de liberté repoussent également." Apropos to this agitation appeared the disgusting romance by Eugene Sue "le Juif Errant"—nothing less than a libel on the Jesuits; while Michelet in the columns of the "Constitutionnel" condemned the order in Essays entitled: "Le Prêtre," "La Femme" and "La Famille."[27] The methods of the Universitaires, however, were despicable, and many of their contemporaries began to speak of them as "turn coat liberals," and to acknowledge

Journal des Debats, 2-6 Mai 1843

Constitutionnel 18 Mars, 1843

Pontlevoy, Vie de Pre Ravignan, II, 262

v. P. ex. Genin: les Jésuites et l'Université

Libri: "Y-a-t-il encore des Jésuites"

Quoted Thureau Dangin, Mon Juillet, V, 502

de Pontlevoy, "Vie du P. de Ravignan," 289 289

de Tocqueville "Corresp. ined," 6 Decembre, 1843

[27] Another work more reasonable and less fanatical on this subject was "lés Jesuites" (1843) by Michelet and Quinet. In this the authors attempt to demonstrate that the system of the Jesuits requiring absolute obedience may destroy and atrophy all reason, will, patriotism and even civilization.

that the government papers were perhaps even worse than those of the opposition in this one respect. At the beginning of the next year, de Ravignan now provincial of the Jesuit order in France, issued a very noble and fairminded defense which made a favourable impression. In this apology the author showed how the Jesuits had more than once saved the country from serious uprisings, and recounted some of the many noble acts performed by individual members of the Society during the Terror. Moreover the Society was not without support outside their own body, and there were many who came to the side of de Ravignan to defend and protect the order. It was among the "Neo-Catholics" particularly that they found the greatest sympathy. At the very outset, when the attacks had first appeared in the *Constitutionnel,* under the title of "The University and the Jesuits" *l'Univers* had come to their support, and from May 1843 its columns were filled with articles defending and praising them. Furthermore, the editor of "l'Univers" and his colleagues were not slow to perceive that it was not so much the Jesuits who were being attacked as the "Neo-Catholic" movement and the religious reaction[28] they had

v. de Ravignan "de l'Existence des Jésuites"

v. *Constitutionnel,* Nos. 18 Mars, 5 Mai, 1843; also *National,* 10 Février, 1844

[28] Je fais tous mes efforts qui sont trops faibles sans doute, pour contenir, de concert avec M. Lenormant . . . et quelques autres, une lutte vigoureuse contre l'enseignement des professeurs du collège de France. Pendant que M. Quinet et M. Michelet attaquaient le catholicisme lui-même sous le nom de Jésuitisme, j'ai taché de défendre dans trois conférences consecutives, la Papauté, les moines, l'obéissance monastique." Ozanam, 5 Juin 1843, quoted in "Ozanam" Mgr. Bannard 28.

"We read this morning in the *Constitutionnel* an article entitled 'The University and the Jesuits.' Last year the same paper wrote at the head of its diatribes: 'The University and the clergy,' as for us, we will not be slow to reëstablish the real terms of the discussion. These terms are: 'The Monopole Universitaire-Liberty.'"

"The *Constitutionnel* wanted to change the subject, but we warn them, they will not succeed. They uselessly evoke phantoms, the order will not efface the promises of the charter. And as long as these promises continue to be maliciously violated our perseverance will not flag. In fact, at bottom what is the polemics of the defenders of the "Monopole"? What is it but a simple provocation to all the passions and all the hatreds of impiety? What is it but a constant call to a violent reaction from the religious movement now operating in a peaceful and orderly fashion at the heart of society? These pretended liberals claim that they have been attacked and that they are avenging

instigated. It really seemed, however, as if the University would carry this agitation still further and restrain in all directions the principle of religious liberty, for, about this time trouble broke out in an entirely different quarter. Other religious denominations found cause for complaint, and among these protests the most prominent was the case of the Reformed Christian Church at Niort, d'après les Veynes (Hautes Alpes) where the functions of the pastor were interfered with by the government officials. The fact that the Catholics were not the only ones to complain, and that protestant bodies as well found grievances tends to confirm the belief that the "Neo-Catholics" had a real "raison d'être." Of their sincerity no one could ever have the slightest doubt.

l'Univers, 13 Mai, 1843

It was directly following the protestant protest that *L'Univers* feeling strengthened by their tacit support, called the attention of its readers to a fact slowly becoming apparent to every unbiased observer of the agitation; the University was not entirely in sympathy with the government. This fact alone could be explained by its origin:

"We have often remarked the accord existing between the dynastic University and the revolutionary press of all degrees; between the University, self-styled orthodox, and the press unorthodox in every way; between the University, daughter, mother and consort of despotism and the entire liberal press; from the 'juste milieu' the most marked to radicalism the most enflamed. . . .

"Will the government, parties and sects kindly tell us what they have gained since 1830? Where is the doctrinaire's majority of the 11th of October? Where are the fighting republicans of Paris, Lyons and Grenoble? Where are the conspirators of the rue des Prouvaires and the insurgents of La Vendée. Where is the wonderfully disciplined opposi-

themselves, that is to say that for thirteen years they have continued to refuse us the right of instruction promised by Article 67 of the charter—see how we are the aggressors! And because we dare to reclaim a promise solemnly sworn, they threaten to withdraw or at least to restrain still more the principle proclaimed by an article of that very charter—religious liberty.

v. *l'Univers*, 12 Mai, 1843, Le Siècle, 23 Mai, 1843

"Fortunately all the world sees this and all the world judges them. What! They have turned against the Jesuits!" *L'Univers*, 6 Mai 1843.

tion of Odilon Barrot? Strange thing! Some have had their victories, others their martyrs, both have had talent, fortune, reversals, triumphs, and all are weakened. Neither blood nor gold nor renown nor power have been able to gain them their proselytes; the future has betrayed them. but all of them have betrayed more or less the needs of a society failing for want of truth and faith."

l'Univers 13 Mai 1843

It was indeed as the "Neo-Catholics" had said, the University was become a nucleus of the opposition, for the most part republican, and therefore the attacks against the Jesuits were republican in origin and in reasoning as well. To a certain extent these attacks were a protest against an abstract principle, Catholicism, but their object and base were real; the Jesuits, by existing laws, had no right to be re-established in France.[29] In this attack on the Jesuits, then, the Republicans, through the "Universitaires" were denouncing to a large degree Catholicism in France, and the government also for being so weak as to permit the existence of certain attributes of the Catholic faith legally prohibited in France. In such a way had the government's efforts to escape the more difficult questions of Socialism and Republicanism resulted! They found themselves confronted with the very problems they had sought to avoid, and their means of escape the revival of a Liberal Catholic principle had become an almost equal menace. But in 1843 the "two evils" (as they were regarded by the creators of the dynasty) were more developed, more imperative in their demands, and more dangerous. Furthermore, who knew but that these two extremes, Radicalism (composed of the Socialists and Republicans) and the "Neo-Catholics," might not become embroiled, and that the Monarchy might not find itself between the two, and fall in the combat? Neither one nor the other were in a humour to be tampered with.

Quotidienne, 18 Mai, 1843

We have seen what the "Neo-Catholics" had to say, what now, was the cry of the Republicans, the newly become "Universitaires " Thiers, speaking of the religious reaction, had declared: "Le temps est venu de mettre la main de Voltaire sur ces gens là." The *Journal des Débats* hearing that Villemain was considering the possibility of reconciliation by a

[29] "La Majesté des lois est compromise." *Constitutionnel,* 4 Janvier 1844.

law, urged him to postpone his action, and, another important personage seems to have heard the warning of the *Débats* for he declared: "Je ne souffrirai pas que l'état soit troublé par une guerre de cuistres et de bedeaux"[30] All the press entered the arena and we find as little logic in their sympathies and political positions as there was in their statements. Except for the papers published under the supervision of the religious parties, the principal combatants on the field were the *Journal des Débats* and the *Globe;* the former declared "If the State supervises the sects, she does so as much to the purpose of protecting them as for restraining them," while the other speaking of religious instruction repeated incessantly "this request based on the charter is based on common sense as well." These statements indicate clearly the divisions existing even within party lines, on the question of freedom of instruction. The following few lines from another paper betray a division in a far more serious quarter:

l'Univers, 18 Mai, 1843

Journal des Debats, 15 Mai, 1843

Journal des Debats, 12 Mai, 1843

Le Globe, 14 Mai, 1843

"We are given to understand that the political faction of the ministry, that faction that thinks itself so clever and so superior, blames the impulse given to the press and to the official chairs (of the University) by another party (in the Cabinet) disposed to second the fanaticism of the "Universitaires." M. Guizot thinks differently from M. Villemain, and M. Soult says he doesn't understand at all the "case of conscience" of the *Journal des Débats.* But Guizot and M. Soult have striven in vain, the University dominates and rules them. . . . This is the antagonism that has just broken out in the midst of the government; on one side a practical spirit of discipline, on the other a spirit-doctrinaire and chimerical; on the one, a policy clothed in the semblance of a system of morality, on the other, a philosophy coquetting with theories of disorder."

Quotidienne, 18 Mars., 1843

It did indeed seem a hopeless state of affairs, for, so divided, the government certainly could not effect a reconciliation of the two opponents. Between a divided ministry, between the "Neo-Catholics" and the "Universitaires," stood Louis Philippe. His attitude at this stage of the agitation is interesting. Of

v. *Constitutionnel,* 1-3, 1843

[30] *L'Univers,* 18 Mai 1843. Debidour ("l'Eglise et l'Etat" 463) attributes this remark to Louis Philippe.

sympathies fundamentally Voltarian the king had wavered between the two; alarmed one minute by the evidence of Republicanism in the University, at another by the addition of certain Legitimists to the "Neo-Catholic" Party,[31] again by the statements of Thiers in regard to the University, and then by the appearance of Lacordaire, the Dominican, at Notre Dame in the last part of the year, he had assumed an attitude of "laissez-faire" and appeared to desire to forget the entire situation. Perhaps in this policy, he was not so indifferent and so unwise as people thought him.[32] Nevertheless, the question could not remain long in this unsettled condition; the state of mind of both parties would not permit it. Montalembert increased the violence of his demands before the Peers, and the government saw it could hesitate no longer. Some satisfaction must be given to one or the other—the ministry were brought to realize this fact, the people had long foreseen it, and all awaited with anxiety the opening of Parliament after the new year.

v. *l'Univers*, 18 Mai, 1843

v. d'Haussonville, "Lacordaire," VII

From the very outset of 1844, however, the statements made by the government did not augur well for the cause of the "Neo-Catholics." An early number of *Ami de la Religion et du roi,* too long silent on the question, opened with the following comment:

"The reply of the King of the French to M. Letronne who, in the name of the "Collège de France" came to pay his compliments on the first of January, contains a sentence that has caused us as much pain as surprise. "The College of France, inaugurated by Francois 1[er] for the perfection of human knowledge, had honourably pursued its useful work. I am glad to tell you how much I appreciate your efforts." This is the

Ami de la Religion et du roi, 6 Janv., 1844

[31] M. de Vatesmil, one of the strongest men in the Legitimist party, at this time became a member of the Committee on Religious Liberty, which with Montalembert as Chairman, had been formed in the chamber of Peers. Thureau Dangin E et E. 212.

[32] "Le roi Louis Philippe dans cette querelle de l'Université et des Jésuites n'est pas trés favourable à l'Université. Si Villemain n'a pas proposé cette année sa loi organique sur l'instruction secondaire, c'est parceque le roi ne s'en est pas souci. 'Laissez faire' disait-il au Ministre, 'laissons leur la liberté à tous, moyennant un tout petit article de police.' Le roi est peutêtre meilleur politique en disant cela, mais Villemain est meilleur Universitaire." Chroniques parisiennes Sainte-Beuve 62.

sentence that has left so lasting and unfortunate an impression in the minds of the clergy, for the clergy do not consider either as useful or honorable the courses of MM. Michelet and Quinet, so abounding as they are in scandal, so hostile to religion and so full of calumnies against its priests."

The above remark of the King, while not so direct a compliment to the University as his critics have interpreted it, was nevertheless another indication of his attitude. He was afraid, to a certain extent, of the clergy, he felt they were Legitimists at heart, and as his relations with Mgr. Affre became less cordial, this distrust seemed to increase.[33] But even this attitude on the part of the King could not long be maintained without serious danger to a government which was in need of support, and every day statesmen urged more insistently upon Villemain the necessity for a new law. Among the most anxious of these was Guizot. Although we cannot find any evidence of M. Guizot's speaking in either House on the subject of instruction from 1840 until well into the year 1844 and although he seemed up to this time to have left the question to Villemain and his associates, still his belief in the absolute need for church participation in public instruction had not waned. This silence must have been caused by his desire to keep to his ideal of maintaining to the end a conservative majority. Later, when commenting on his actions at this time, he said:

"In the matter of public instruction, I said: 'All rights do not belong to the State; there are some, I will not say superior, but anterior to, and coexisting with them. There are, in the first instance, rights of the family, children belong to the family before they belong to the state. The state has the right of distributing instruction, of directing it in its own establishments, and of superintending it everywhere; it has not the right of imposing it arbitrarily and exclusively on families without their consent or perhaps against their will. The system of the Imperial University did not allow this primitive and inviolable right of families."

Guizot, "France under Louis Philippe," 349

The view of those of the Liberals not exactly allied with the

[33] Louis Philippe is said to have remarked: "Je n'aime pas les collèges ecclesiastiques, on enseigne trop aux enfants de chanter le verset de magnificat, Deposuit potentes de sede." Quoted in Thureau Dangin, E. et E, from Vie de Mgr. Affre Cruice 307.

"Universitaires" at this time is somewhat different. An example of this attitude is found in de Tocqueville's criticism of the speech delivered by Louis Philippe to the Chamber of Deputies on its reopening in January. In his discourse the King, strange contradiction, had uttered the usual platitudes on the peace and happy condition of the country:

"You say that peace reigns, I will tell you again that the fight has simply changed ground; from political it has become philosophical and religious. . . . Without a doubt the liberty of instruction has been the principal cause and pretext of this war, but the strife has extended far beyond these limits even. Listen to the parties. Do some of them demand only liberty of instruction; rather do they not go so far as to attack even liberty of thought, the very principle of education? Look at the others and you will see that they do not limit themselves to speaking of the University and its rules alone, but they attack religion itself, and the general principles and rules on which it reposes. I say to you that the question of liberty of instruction was of such a nature as to irritate profoundly the minds of men and more than any other, to give rise to the struggle that we condone. You have left this question thirteen years without solution. . . . The clergy . . . I say that the clergy does not possess any of those ancient bonds which formerly attached it to wealth and to power . . . the concordat placed it in a position of happy dependence on the jurors; that its only remaining force in the political world was the sympathy of the men of liberty, and I add that by the very action at this time of some of its members it is losing this sympathy. Then, gentlemen, its isolation will become so complete, so intolerable, so desperate, that sooner or later it will throw itself into the arms of whoever offers it power. And as in certain other countries, it will become transformed into the political agent of the state; then we will have the most despicable of all human institutions, a political religion, a religion servile to the government and assisting in the oppression of its people instead of preparing the way for liberty."

l'Universe, 18 Janv., 1844 Speech of de Tocqueville, ch. of peers, 17 Janv.

This was the warning de Tocqueville gave his confrères of the possible result of their procrastination. This speech paved the way for another law on the subject, the chambers were

notified that a new proposition would be submitted to them in the course of a few weeks.[34]

On the second of February Villemain submitted his law. In general it resembled very much the law proposed in 1841. There were five principal provisions:

1. The right to open establishments of instruction is recognized in principle, and this right is extended to all citizens, but—

2. Members of unauthorized orders are excepted.

3. The State reserves to itself the right of supervision.

4. The right to open a school for instruction is subordinated to guaranties of personal morality and ability, but the first of these must come from the municipal or judicial authorities for that purpose for each academy.

5. Ecclesiastical schools of secondary grade (small seminaries) are to remain under the régime of privilege.

This was the attempt the Administration made to prove itself liberal. It is in Article two, however, that we find what was to prove the real bone of contention. In this clause may be seen the direct influence of the "Aux Jésuites" cry raised by those very "Universitaires" under whose direct authority all educational institutions were not placed. Villemain's law did not have a cordial reception, it was acceptable to one party, but

v. Grimaud, "Hist. de la Liberté d'Enseignement, 329-335

[34] The remarks of the President of the Chamber of Deputies on the announcement of this intention were, however, a fair premonition of what the result would be: "Nous accueillons avec empressement l'assurance que le projet de loi qui nous sera presenté en satisfaisant au voéu de la charte pour la liberté de l'enseignement, maintiendra—l'autorité de l' l'Etat sur l'instruction publique." *L'Univers,* 25 Janv. 1844.

A criticism of the above remark, made in the Chamber the following day showed the "Neo-Catholics" that they would find some support "L'autorité de l'Etat sur l'instruction libre! Mais je ne comprends pas cette alliance des mots; Qu'est ce que l'autorité? Cherchez en la definition. Vou trouverez que l'autorité c'est le droit et le pouvoir de commander. Commander à la liberté Messieurs, mais si on venait nous demander icé d'établir une autorité une action sur la liberté de la presse y'aurait—il assez de voix pour fletrir une pareille hérésie contre la Constitution? Eh, bien, Messieurs, la liberté de l'instruction, est—elle moins sacrée moins precieuse que la liberté de la presse? Voulez-vous établir les catégories de liberté?" *L'Univers,* 26 Janv. 1844.

not to the other; it was not a compromise and did not offer the slightest possibility of solving the difficulty.

L'Univers addressed the following warning to the Chambers who were to deliberate on it:

"Moreover, we do not forget, Messieurs, that article 69 of the Charter of 1830 prescribed a twofold purpose to the attention of the legislators; 'public instruction and the liberty of teaching.' By these terms the Charter indicates that the extension and perfection of the schools should be coincident with or even precede any serious modification of the legal régime under which all "écoles particulières" have heretofore existed."[35]

l'Univers, 5 Ferier, 1843

The disappointment occasioned by the new law was general.[36] Even some of his own party turned against Villemain, claiming that he has lost a glorious opportunity.[37] The *Journal des Debats* and the *National* alone supported him and declared that the law was in all respects perfect and that whatever secondary provisions had been made, such as in heading two of the law,[38] were rendered necessary by the events of the past three years. The majority of the people, however, seemed to agree in the following opinions, the one expressed by a paper formerly a supporter of Villemain, the other, by the

v. Le *National*, Nos. 3-4, Fev., 1844

Constitutionnel, 12 Fev., 1844

[35] Another paper noting the attack on the Jesuits contained in the new law remarked: "La pensée de ces dispositions n'est pas heureuse: elle ne sera conciliée avec les principes d'aucun des systèmes acceptables, mais nous ne concevons pas ce parti pris de voir tout le projet dans une de ces dispositions sécondaires que sera nécessairement modifiée et à la quelle le ministère n'a certainement pas attaché le sort de son projet." *La Presse*, 7 Fev. 1844.

[36] Another article from this same paper shows more clearly the fact that certain of the liberals realized the necessity of real freedom: "Si l'instruction publique s'est renfermée jusqu' ici dans l'Université, ne voit-on pas que c'est précisément cet état de choses qu'il s'agit de changer aujourd'hui pour obéir à la charte? Ne voit-on pas que l'enseignement libre doit être constitué à l'enseignement national que le ministre de l'instruction publique doit perdre désormais son rôle unique et exclusif de grand maitre de l'Université, pour devenir le tuteur des écoles libres comme celui des écoles Universitaires et pour peser égalment les uns et les autres dans la balance impartiale de l'autorité publique?" *La Presse*, 8 Fev. 1844.

v. *Journal des Débats*, 2 Février, 1844

[37] "Au lieu de se considerer comme le grand pontife de l'enseignement universal, il est resté le général de corps enseignant laique, le supérieur du couvent Universitaire." *Courrier Français*, 12 Fev. 1844.

[38] V. p. 56.

Comte de Maistre in explaining the situation to the English people: "It is a party act and not one of the whole government" said the *Constitutionnel;* while de Maistre declared:

"If we do not return to ancient maxims, if education be not restored to the clergy, and if science be not placed in second rank, the evils which await us are incalculable; we shall be brutalized by science, which is the last degree of debasement." London *Times,* Feb. 17, 1844

Judging from the law itself and the criticisms quoted, it does indeed seem as if the University had lost the only reason it might have had for its claims, and had itself assumed the very attitude toward secondary education which it had accused the "Neo-Catholics" of seeking. The battle royal over the law took place in the chamber of Peers. From the very beginning it augured well for the "Neo-Catholics" as the "projet" was given for examination to a committee headed by de Broglie and Molé. The debate opened the 22nd of April and lasted twenty-nine days. The Chamber divided at once into three parties; the "Universitaires exclusifs" who seemed to have but one leader Cousin, the "Neo-Catholics" under Montalembert, Seguier and Beugnot, and the Ministers, not all of whom were even of accord. At first it was a battle of Cousin and Villemain against Martin who represented the government, and who was later assisted by Guizot. The reporting Committee, however, was weak, and while they did attempt to make a few reforms in the bill, their efforts were so feeble that Guizot found himself embarrassed by the revised bill placed before the Chamber.[39] But while little actual gain was made by the Catholics in the discussion, the results proved to be significant enough. Montalembert, by his eloquence gained them more sympathy and moral support each day. He routed entirely Villemain, as was acknowledged even by his most hostile critics,[40] and M. Guizot *Le Commerce,* Feb. 17, 1844

[39] "Du travail de M. de Broglie il resulte donc: 1° que l'Université est une école de mauvaises doctrines ainsi que les évêques l'en ont convaincu; 2° que toute concurrence religieuse, entreprise entre ces doctrines sera vaine et illusoire sous la règne de la loi proposeé." *L'Univers,* 19 Avril 1844.

[40] "Si de nos jours une question se décide par l'issue de combat entre deux champions, après le duel de M. de Montalembert et M. Villemain à la tribune de la chambre de Paris l'Eglise pourrait se croire triumphante, l'Université n'aurait plus que demander merci. Que voulez-vous? la partie n'était pas égale. . . . Le début de M.

did not fare much better in his plea, outwitted as he was again and again by Montalembert.[41]

So far the debate had not resulted favourably for the University, nor for the government. The ever-observant people, in turn, were not slow to recognize this fact and the newspapers hailed it with varying emotions.[42] Evidently the arguments for their opponents had not been well presented, and the "Neo-Catholics" might well anticipate a victory. They were not disappointed. After much debate, at the suggestion of de Broglie the matter was put to vote and the result was at least a partial victory for the Catholics. For while they were defeated 185 to 51, they had succeeded in obtaining a larger opposition vote in the Chamber of Peers than had been known for some time. This fact in itself is significant. The "Neo-Catholics" had, in-

Villemain a eu lieu sous de tristes auspices. Il avait pour lui l'assemblée et il a été vaincu. . . . Cet homme Montalembert croit, il croit dans un siécle d'incredulité, il l'exprime avec une énergique simplicié, et une sorte de sainte arrogance; ou? Dans une tribune politique que M. Pasquier domine, et sa parole a librement et fiérement passé entre la curiosité de ce spectacle original et le respect de cette grandeur que communique une croyance intrépidement sincère." *Courrier Français,* 17 Avril 1844.

[41] Montalembert's reply to Guizot was delivered ten days later. He said in part: "J'appelle avec lui (Guizot) le moment de ce qu'il a nommé la reconcilation entre l'Eglise et l'Etat. Je le désire vivement tout le monde le désire. Mais, pour qu'elle soit durable et sincère, il faut qu'elle soit fondée sur la justice. Le projet de loi que l'on nous propose et que M. Guizot a couvert de son silence rend cette reconciliation impossible, et c'est pour cela que je viens de la combattre." *L'Univers,* 27 Avril 1844.

[42] "Le ministre a défendu l'education universitaire et attaqué les Jésuites; c'était simple, mais il n'a plus parlé de la domination du clergé; c'est un fait dont nous félicitons d'autant plus M. Villemain qui a vraiment besoin d'être encouragé." *Quotidienne,* 27 Avril 1844.

"Rien de plus facile assurément que de réfuter M. de Montalembert; mais on a laissé le soin à M. Villemain, et celui-ci, devient déci dément le plus mediocre des orateurs, comme il est le plus faible des ministres." *National,* 27 Avril 1844.

"Sur tous les autres points du discours de M. de Montalembert, la réponse, appartenait au ministre de l'instruction publique, et M. Villemain a engagé, en effet, de réfuter cette multitude d'affirmations tranchantes qui tiennent bien des preuves pour les catholiques. Mais comment réfuter des pures affirmations?" *Journal des Débats,* 27 Avril 1844. v. also Messager des Chambres, 27 Avril 1844.

deed, gained a victory, and their leader in the Chamber of Peers had once told them that to do this, they must become an "Embarras politique." The result of this vote seemed to show that the time was not far off.

On the 10th of June Villemain's law was placed before the Chamber of Deputies. Thiers was named chairman of the Committee on revision. This appointment in itself boded ill for the "Neo-Catholics," but the personnel of the committee gave them cause for brief encouragement: M. M. de Tocqueville, Saint-Marc-Girardin, Quintette, Dupin de l'Aine and de Carné. The Committee's work was not destined to accomplish anything of importance, however, as Thiers, when making its report, placed so much emphasis on the Jesuits that he unconsciously turned the attention of the Chamber solely in that direction.[43] There followed a second outburst of charges against the "Neo-Catholics." The accusations brought against them were much the same as those the Jesuits had had to disprove the previous year—Legitimist sympathies.[44] The *Journal des Débats* had not allowed this charge entirely to die out and earlier in the year they had reminded their readers of it.[45] Other papers too, had followed their example and a flood of recriminations followed.[46] A tactical blunder was made in directing the accusation against M. de Montalembert. Most of his enemies could not doubt for a moment the sincerity of this young champion of religious freedom, and he experienced little difficulty in clearing himself of the complaints so ruthlessly brought against him.

Persistent, however, in their efforts to discredit the "Neo-Catholics" at all costs, their opponents, alarmed by the early signs of success in the Chamber of Peers, revived that anti-Jesuit agitation which had been allowed to quiet down during the discussion of the law. Early in May the "*Journal des Débats* had reopened this field of controversy by asking:

Journal des Débats 9 Mai, 1844

"Will the Jesuits become the masters of education in France or not? That is the question now being agitated in the Cham-

v. supra *Le Globe,* 10 Mai, 1844

[43] *Moniteur,* 10 Juin 1844.

[44] *Journal des Débats,* 17 Dec. 1843; 12 Fév. 1844.

[45] *Courrier Français,* 13 Fév. 1844.

[46] v. also their refutation *l'Univers,* 13 Fév. 1844. v. letter of Montalembert to *Journal des Débats,* 12 Fév. 1844.

ber of Peers, fourteen years after the Revolution of July, under a government sprung from that Revolution, before a ministry whose principal members were, under the Restoration, deprived of their chairs and prosecuted by the Jesuits. The reply in our opinion, is not uncertain. No, the Jesuits will not become the masters of education in France. The government of France will not thus betray its origin."[47]

There were not many, however, who held the extreme view of the *Journal des Débats.* On the contrary, there were many who felt, what was probably true, that, according to the letter of the law, the Jesuits should be expelled, but that the other policy of an inquisition into the conscience of every one who wanted to teach was odious. Of these, Thiers was the principal advocate. On the thirteenth of July his famous report upon Villemain's law was read. This report is important for it marks the first beginning of a coalition between the University and Adolphe Theirs, now become the new leader of the Republican party. Furthermore, it was a readjustment of his political creed to meet a new situation and it predicts his policy for the year 1845.

Moniteur, 15 Juillet, 1844 Speech of Thiers, 13 Juillet, 1844

"What will result, gentlemen, from this struggle? Nothing but the triumph of Reason, if you know how to be patient and persevere. The Church is a great, an august power, but she has not exerted herself to have the right on her side in this case. In former times she has triumphed over persecution; that is true, and ought to be to the honour of humanity. She

[47] Another paper, more reasonable and yet really of the opposition, saw the entire affair in another light. The contrast is curious: "Nous comprenons et nous admettons qu'on exclue de la France l'ordre des Jésuites. C'est tà dire que l'on l'empeche de établir, d'acquérir, de posséder des membres; mais qu'on descend dans la conscience de tous les citoyens, qu'on sonde inquisitorialement leur vie privée, leurs sentiments intimes et qu'on les force à déclarer et à signer, pour avoir la faculté d'instruire la jeunesse, qu'ils appartiennent nià l'ordre des Jésuites, ni à aucune ordre prohibé, par les lois, voilà, qui est monstrueux autant qu'insensé; voilà qui choque les idées les plus élémentaires, voilà qui ferait reculer la France et toutes les conquêtes morales de deux siecles; voilà qui rétablirait ce que l'esprit d'intolérance a jamais montrés de plus étroit, de plus tyrannique et de plus vexatoire; violà ce qui mettrait véritablement le gouvernement de Juillet en danger. Oui, excluez, tant qu'il vous plaira l'ordre des Jésuites, mais n'excluez pas la liberté," *Le Globe,* 10 Mai 1844.

will not, however, triumph over Reason calm and respectful but inflexible."

All this discussion was to come to nothing and the progress of events was interrupted by a calamity. The "Universitaires" had found in Thiers a leader; they were to need him badly, for Villemain was slowly becoming the victim of a mental disease. In December insanity seized upon him, and Guizot appointed in his place de Salvandy, a man more in sympathy with the "Neo-Catholic" demands. Out of respect to Villemain and his affliction a sort of armed truce ensued for the remaining few weeks of the year 1844.

What an evolution had this young and ardent group of Romanticists, the "parti catholique" experienced in the brief space of four years.[48] Beginning as simple religious teachers they had become a real factor in parliamentary affairs. So great, in fact, had been their progress that the men of the opposition had had to resort to the policy of persecuting them. This, in turn, had resulted to the glory and increase of the persecuted, instead of to the advantage of their persecutors. Even the government, misjudging them as harmless, had brought them forward as a happy distraction from other dangers, betrayed them, and then found their distraction become an equally serious menace. Placed between this menace and the danger of Communism, the government had first attempted to conciliate, then failing this, to lavish its praises upon the one and then the other. This, too, met with slight success. In the meantime the opposition had presented the Jesuit protest; this seemed to have served as a fair distraction and might have succeeded had it been handled more carefully, had its agitators been less fanatical than their opponents. The Ministry was not slow to perceive this possibility, and now, in turn, they seemed to have resolved to seize upon the Jesuit question, and, strange paradox, they believed that they could make it a means of conciliation. By appealing to Rome they planned to dissolve the order in France, that would conciliate the opposition, and then, the Jesuits out of the way, they

[48] "Ce que nous avons gagné dans cette dernière campagne, en vérité, en force, en avenir est à peine croyable. . . . Je ne crois pas que l'histoire présente une aussi surprenante péripétie." Lettres Lacordaire, 1 Juin 1844. v. London *Times*, Dec. 17, 1844

would try to submit a law satisfactory to the "Neo-Catholics." So it was that his minister of public instruction become insane, Guizot, the minister of foreign affairs, by the appointment of de Salvandy, a man whom he knew could control, brought the question of liberty of instruction into his own department and determined to settle it himself by a policy of conciliation and mutual concessions at home, made possible through diplomacy at Rome. The Ancona affair was to be reacted in another sphere, but after all, in the same sense, Guizot was to deceive and then, in turn, be himself bitterly deceived. This new policy will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE VICTORY OF THE "NEO-CATHOLICS." THE FALL OF THE JULY MONARCHY

In the last few years of the reign of Louis Philippe that state of apathy and political indifference remarked at the beginning of Guizot's administration (1840) became the dominant characteristic of the French nation. Its cause, it will be remembered, was found in the failure of the July Monarchy to fulfill the hopes and ambitions of its originators, and the consequent reign of selfish interests. But this fact alone could not account for the political indifference France displayed at that time. The mere statement that the bourgeoisie had lost interest and were disappointed is not sufficient. They did not even make the slightest attempt to force the government to carry out their wishes, and there were several reasons to account for this. In the first place they did not know how to compel the Monarchy to follow the line of conduct they desired, and, too, they had refused all help offered them.

At the beginning of the July Revolution the bourgeoisie had found themselves for the first time in power and they were hopelessly inexperienced. Neither the Revolution with its heroes of a day, the Empire with its dearly bought victories, nor the Restoration, had given them any opportunity to take lessons in the art of governing a people. They had come to the front, then, in 1830, entirely without experience or practice, claiming to uphold vague principles of Constitutional government, but, untutored as they were in the practice of those principles, they had found the load upon their hands far too heavy. Other men were well versed in politics but the stolid bourgeois did not appeal to them. They distrusted the nobles, the only class who had had much experience in governing. In this distrust they were wrong. The old nobility

v. Thureau, Dangin, Hist. V, 49-52

was fast disappearing, and among the younger generation there were many who could have helped them, and if they had confided in them, they would not have abused that confidence. Liberal Romanticism had, as has been seen, claimed many adherents among the younger nobility who possessed those very elements of chivalry, heroism and generosity which the average bourgeois lacked and yet so direly needed. Among the younger aristocracy, then, there was much material which would have been useful, but the bourgeoisie, blind in its own jealousy, did not perceive the good and saw only an evil that was slowly being eradicated. Had they but realized their own short sightedness in time, it might have been their salvation, but, as it was, selfish interests reigned more completely than ever. It was only among the members of Parliament then, that real political interest existed.[1] These parliamentarians were scattered among a number of groups; the "Neo-Catholics" with their programme of liberty of instruction, the Republicans with such questions as the supremacy of the University and Electoral Reform—so soon to be made a more serious question by Lamartine's inauguration of "Reform Banquets;" the Extreme Left constantly advocating Socialism, Communism and the Right of the Individual, and finally, the Government with its few supporters interested in a personal policy of saving their own necks. The greatest agitation, however, continued to center around the "Neo-Catholics" and their demand for liberty of teaching and of religion—a controversy that the opposition had frequently sought to cloak with the Jesuit question.

v. *l'Univers*, 13 Févr., 1845 et nos. seq also Montalembert, Discours, 13 Janv., 1845

After the fatal illness of Villemain there ensued for a time a sort of armed truce. During this brief period of calm Dupin (confrère of Odilon-Barrot) published his famous "Manuel du droit publique ecclésiastique," an indirect assault on all ultramontane theses and an attempt to arouse what the author believed would prove a salutatory reaction to Gallicanism.

[1] "Le publique ne s'occupe que de ses speculations, de ses affaires. Il n'a pas de goût en ce moment pour la politique il s'en défie; il craint en être dérangé. Il a eu ainsi des engouements successifs; sous l'Empire, les bulletins de'l Armée, sous la Restauration la liberté, aujourd'hui c'est la Richesse." Rossi, Revue des deux Mondes 1842.

This effort, ably combated in *L'Univers* by de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, failed. Another event of importance was the definite nomination of Salvandy as Minister of Public Instruction. The appointment of an ally of Dupin and Saint-Marc Girardin did not in itself offer too promising a prospect to the "Neo-Catholics," but Salvandy was more kindly disposed than Villemain. A belief in the church and its share in affairs, as a political necessity was not a brief in religion for religion's sake, but it was better than intolerance and vague protestation. It was soon realized, however, that the new Minister would play a minor and very inconspicuous part in the settlement of the question that so vitally concerned his department; for it was not long before it escaped the confines of the province of instruction and was carried into the realms of diplomacy. The Jesuit question was revived.

v. Le Siècle, 3 Fév., 1845

In reality, the Jesuit protest had never ceased, but had continued active under the surface from the time of its first entrance into politics. The *Journal des Débats* still declaimed that their presence in France was contrary to the law, while the *Constitutionnel* continued to publish regularly a chapter of "Le Juif Errant," by Eugene Sue. In 1845 all that was necessary to revive the question was an event attracting public attention. This was offered in the "Affaire Affnaer," an incident unimportant enough, but destined to become the occasion for the reappearance and final "solution" of the agitation. A former Jesuit named Affnaer, had been the economat (manager and treasurer) of one of the Jesuit establishments in France. He had stolen, he had been expelled, and now, to avenge himself upon the order which had ruined his reputation and published his shame, he took advantage of the prejudice against that body to air his complaints, recounted with all the black details of a Reformer of the Sixteenth Century. His cause was taken up at once by the Republicans, and the matter did not remain long outside the Debates of the Chamber. On April 14, Cousin taking occasion to speak of the "Affaire Affnaer" before the Chamber of Peers demanded that the government put into immediate execution the existing laws prohibiting the establishment of the Company of Jesus in France. Immediately the Republican papers circulated petitions upholding

l'Univers, 12 Avril, 1845

Constitutionnel, 11, Avril, 1845

National, 12 Avril, 1845

Cousin's demand. The Opposition through the *Journal des Débats,* asked:

Journal des Debats, 15 Avril, 1845

"Why, in this question of the Jesuits, do they not enforce the laws concerning "congrégations d'hommes and if the Order is good and worthy to be saved, do they not enforce the laws concerning "congregations d'hommes" and ask the Chambers to authorize the Jesuits' rights in France? We are of the opinion ourselves that one or the other of these two laws must be enforced while waiting for M. de Montalembert to successfully proclaim "la liberté illimiteé de toute chose."

National, 15 Avril, 1845

To such protests the government, through M. Martin (du Nord) replied: "I have already said that several associations are tolerated in France. The duty of the government is to discern and wait. It would never do to provoke the clergy to angry protests."

The government and Guizot must have been in very hard straits indeed, when they could make no better answer to the demands of the people they were supposed to serve. Guizot saw that he could not defend the Jesuits without serious danger to the dynasty, but he must defend religious liberty. This was the problem confronting the Ministry, and while it was determining on a plan of solution, the opposition were putting the final touches to their scheme of assault.

This time the Jesuit Question was revived in the Chamber of Deputies and Thiers was the principal agitator. From the very outset, however, an important fact should be borne in mind. Thiers, as leader of the Republicans, had become a sponsor for the cause of the University, but in all probability he was not fighting this fight for a great moral principle. In fact, his own actions do not permit the acceptance of any such idea. Undoubtedly there were other interests far more vital to the political future of the "Oiseau sur la Branche." Thiers had foreseen the inevitable end of the government, but it was not to be for him the end; he was determined that his own political life should not be shortened by any possible fatality to the dynasty. As leader of both oppositions he felt he had a career to fight for, and the Jesuit question became in his eyes, a mere political hobby-horse on which he hoped to ride into the Cabinet, from which he had resigned, and wrest the

v. Caricature, by A. Gill, "La Caricature Française au XIX Siecle," publié par. Armand Dayot

portfolio from Guizot. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the other hand, was well aware of the intention of his adversary, and realized that the policy either of favoring or suppressing the Jesuits would be a victory for Thiers and, in either event, would lead to his own resignation. Guizot, then, saw only one possible escape open to him—a recourse to Rome.

In the meantime, Thiers had roused the Deputies. On the 2nd of May, 1845, he made his famous interpellation on the legality of the position of the Jesuits in France and the danger to the country. Posing as an apostle of the new era and a believer in what he termed "the modern spirit" he traced the history of the Jesuits in France from the very beginning, and showed how they had interfered in the affairs of State in past time. Basing his complaint upon the early laws of the Revolution, the Ordonnances of 1812 and 1825, and the July Ordonnance of Charles X in the year 1828, he then criticised the attitude of M. Martin (du Nord) and de Salvandy. His tactics were clever, at some points in the interpellation he did not fail to pose as a moderate. Could it be believed that this attack was entirely sincere it would be an admirable piece of work, but it is well to have in mind Thiers' policy and words at a later epoch when reading the following citation from his speech:

v. Le Goff, 118-9

"As for me, I am convinced that by far the majority of the French clergy is animated with a good spirit, with respect for the laws of the country, and that it is faithful to the State. But I also believe that there is a faction among them that is compromising the clergy in the eyes of the government. It is just the same thing as existed at the time of the institution of the Concordat when a part of the clergy did not recognize the Concordat. This faction was still living during the Restoration, and it exists today.

"Where will we find this faction? I will speak frankly; I believe that the first impulse has come from the Jesuits.

"I will not recall, gentlemen, all that has been said about the Order of Jesuits; I am fair-minded; I do not believe in all the popular prejudices existing against this famous community; things have changed since two centuries ago, and they must indeed have been in a most unhappy condition not to

Speech of Thiers before Chamber of Deputies, 2 Mai, 1845
l'Univers, 3 Mai, 1845
Constitutionnel,

have changed. Today, however, the Jesuits are become the refuge whither go restless and ardent souls that they may find there the force of association. At every period there has been a moderate and also an exaggerated spirit."[2]

Thiers' efforts enjoyed immediate success, and the following day the Chambers voted the famous "ordre du jour" of May 3, appointing a bureau to draw up a law against the Jesuits. A great victory was acclaimed by the opposition; Thiers' paper declared: "L'opposition avait fait une fois de plus l'office du gouvernement."

3 Mai 1846 v. also 24 Mai, 1845

The question arises, however, whether after all, Thiers had not for political purposes made a mountain out of a mole hill. It would have been impossible for the Jesuits so recently returned and living under such restricted conditions, to have become a real menace to the government. There were some who had not lost their heads and who realized this fact.[3] Moreover, the party of "Neo-Catholics," those really attacked, did not fail to see that the Jesuit agitation and the question of public instruction were being used by the opposition as a political club to drive out Guizot. They, in their turn, uttered a rather serious warning:

Journal des Débats, 5 Mai, 1845

"Saturday's vote has caused the *Journal des Débats* some anxiety; they fear that M. Thiers is trying to make it a weapon against the Ministry, and they devote the first part of their article to explaining that 'this vote is rather a mark of confidence than blame for the government.' *The Constitutionnel* on the other hand, tries to prove that all the glory of that day should go to their patron. It is evident that the anti-

l'Univers, 6 Mai, 1845

[2] It is interesting to note that de Ravignan and Dupanloup were in the gallery of the Chamber on the 2nd and 3rd of May. de Pont levoy Vie du P. de Ravignan. I, 313.

[3] "En 1845, sous le régime de la liberté de la presse, à la clarté d'un firmament de journaux, déclarera-t-on sans rougir, qu'il n'y aura plus d'associations autorisées se proposant un but de bienfaisance ou de moralisation, que celles qu'il sera bien démontré que la religion n'a aucune part, et si l'on recule devant une pareille monstruosité, devant un tel anachronisme, déclarera-t-on sans rire que l'existence de trois ou quatre cents Jésuites vivant déssiminés dans 27 maisons est un danger qui menace le 19e siecle et 34,000,000 d'habitants, les libertés publiques et le progrès des idées, la tranquilité de l'Etat et le repos des familles." *La Presse,* 5 Mai 1845.

religious furor of these two sheets does not prevent them from looking to their "intérêts de boutiques." For that matter, both are right. In fact, it was in the hope of grabbing the power that Thiers raised the question of religious communities, and it was in order that they might keep their portfolios a few weeks longer that our Ministers have so promptly sacrificed religious liberty. That is how the government is run today. Are you still surprised that a government that exists and legislates in such a manner, is without force and without definiteness?"

L'Univers 18 Janv. 1844 Speech of de Tocqueville ch of Peers 17 Janv.

Seeing no help in prospect from the government, the Jesuits were preparing a legal battle for their existence in France, by basing their claims on the Article in the Charter allowing associations, and in maintaining that the acceptance of a charter which contained this article annulled all past legislation. Certainly they had the law on their side. In fact what proofs but the slanderous and scandalous reports of their adversaries can be found against them? The use of slander and scandal often implies the lack of reliable statements and well-founded charges. Of the latter, after a diligent search, not the slightest evidence has been found for the entire period of the July Monarchy, and it is impossible to admit as proof of their evil at this time, a reference to a reputation in the past manifestly of an unsavory nature.

v. de Pontlevoy, I, 317

But the government had not been so inactive as the two adversaries had imagined. In fact, while Thiers had been occupied in publicly berating the Order and the weakness of a government which would tolerate its establishment, Guizot had set a curious counter policy to work. His adoption of it betrays his entire ignorance of the laws and usages of the Roman Communion. It had not been easy, however, for Guizot to inaugurate this last desperate attempt, for, from the very outset he has been hampered by the king's words: "Do not deceive yourselves, I will not risk my crown for the Jesuits." These words did not serve to help, but rather embarrassed Guizot's policy. He desired to defend the liberty of the Jesuits, but not the Jesuits for themselves, for having in mind the fall of Charles X, he feared for the July Monarchy in any case.[4]

Debidour, E et E, 466, 467 Thureau Dangin, E et E, 409-410

[4] Apropos of this fear Thureau Dangin (E et E 391) remarks: "O briéveté de la sagesse politique quand elle pretend discerner ce qui

Accordingly after the unsuccessful effort to force the bishops to intervene, Guizot, sent M. Pellegrino Rossi, an Italian who possessed a reputation not agreeable to the Apostolic See, to lay the entire matter before the Pope and persuade him to dissolve the Jesuit Order in France![5] When Thiers, then, made his interpellation thereby rendering necessary some reply from the government, Guizot shortly afterwards was able to announce that the government already had under way a plan of solution and that M. Rossi would present in the course of the month, a memorandum to Cardinal Lambruschini. Such was the escape Guizot had planned for the government and for himself. Under such circumstances and with such selfish interests in view it was just as well that he should have selected a man of Rossi's calibre who possessed a reputation for extreme liberal sentiments, and who certainly was not over-impressed with the virtue or necessity of the "Neo-Catholic" demands,[6]

perd et ce qui sauve les gouvernements! On jétait des religieux pardessus bord pour alléger le navire qui portait la fortune de la Monarchie; et quand peu aprés soufflera la tourmente ce sera ce grand et beau navire que sombrera, tandisque la petite barque des jésuites arrivera au port; la révolution qui jettera la famille d'Orleans en exile, fera disparaitre les derniers vestiges de proscription pesant sur la compagnie de Jésus, et M. Thiers lui-même proclamera, devant le pays cette sorte d'emancipation."

[5] Apropos of the character of M. Rossi there are various reports but all seem to agree that he was of a type not too acceptable for the time at least, to the Pope. The Jesuits' opinion of him is as follows: "M. Rossi était un de ces conditierri de l'intelligence qui n'ont d'autre patrie que le lieu òu il leur est permis d'abriter la fortune sous leur tente." J. Cretineau-Joly, "Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus," IV, 392,

Guizot says of Rossi: "An Italian, avowedly liberal, and a refugee from Italy on account of his liberal opinions, the embassy of Rossi could not fail to startle, I will even say to alarm, the Court of Rome; but there are salutary alarms, and I knew M. Rossi to be extremely well adapted to calm those he might inspire; and at the same time to turn them to account for the success of his mission. His liberal convictions were deeply rooted, but expanded and untainted by any spirit of system or party; his mind was extremely free, though not fluctuating, and no one more capable of seeing persons and things in their true light, and of restraining his daily actions within the limits of what was practicable without ceasing the constant pursuit of his object." Guizot, France under Louis Philippe. Chap. V. 363.

[6] It has been asserted that Rossi even warned the Pope to beware

Despite all this evidence, Guizot's language when explaining his action is not indicative of any ulterior motives he may have entertained at this time:

"I proposed to the King and Council not to abandon the laws in vigour against religious communities, and to carry the question of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in France to its supreme and uncontested Chief, to the Pope himself. The Civil French Power did not thus renounce the legal arms with which it was provided; but, in the interest of religious peace, as also of religious influence and liberty in France, it invited the spiritual power of the Catholic church to relieve it from its exercise. The King and Council adopted my proposition."[7]

Guizot: "France under Louis Philippe, 362

The general tendency, however, was to ridicule this resort to diplomacy inaugurated by Guizot, and neither the "Neo-Catholics" nor their opponents expected any result at all from Rossi's mission. Montalembert, now the acknowledged and undoubted leader of the "Neo-Catholic Movement"—as its detractors continued to call it—felt, therefore that it would be advisable to bring the Jesuit matter up before the Chamber of Peers, and in that way demonstrate to the political world that his party did not rely, by any means, on Guizot's policy. Accordingly, on the 12th of June, Montalembert, seconded by Beugnot, laid the question before the High Chamber by interrogating M. Martin (du Nord). He used this occasion to deliver an eloquent defense of the Jesuits as well as to show the government that the "Neo-Catholics" were aware that the

of the "Neo-Catholics" and their friends the Jesuits, who were nothing else than "la coda di La Mennais." Thureau-Dangin., 411, E et E.

[7] It is a curious fact to note that even de Ravignan seemed to have at first a certain amount of faith in Guizot. At the time of the first agitation he had remarked: "Il m'a etonnée par la supériorité de ses vues; par son estime pour la compagnie, par la manière dont il se prononçait contre toutes les preventions et les attaques aux quelles nos sommes en lutte. Je sais positivement que, dans le conseil des ministres, il a parlé en notre faveur. . . . Je ne me confierai sans doute qu'avec mesure à sa politique et à ses opinions, mais il mérite cependant plus d'estime que la plupart des nos gouvernants." Lettre, 29 December 1843. Pontlevoy Vie de Ravignan I, 338.

entire agitation was a mere struggle to keep their portfolios.[8]

In addition to showing the government that people were not blind to their infidelity, this speech had the result of hastening the negotiations at Rome. Montalembert had so routed M. Martin (du Nord) that the government felt they could no longer maintain their dignity without an immediate reply from the Pope.[9] Acting on instructions, received from Guizot, therefore, Rossi became more urgent in his demands, and Lambruschini is said finally to have assured Rossi that the order of the Jesuits in France would be dispersed; its novitiates dissolved, and a few ecclesiastics who should exercise only the functions of priests should remain in the establishment as caretakers. But Guizot did not think this assurance binding enough, and he instructed Rossi to ask that this promise be presented in writing to the French government.

Dep. off Rossi à Guizot, 23 Juin, 1845

The rest of the story, according to Guizot is as follows: In the meantime Lambruschini had retracted slightly, the Pope had found his Council unfavorable, and the Cardinal demanded that the Jesuits "have the honour of acquiescence." Father Roothan, general of the Order, then reluctantly transmitted his injunctions to de Ravignan in France. Guizot now thought himself justified in allowing the following notice to appear in the official newspapers:

Guizot, "France under L. P,." 409

"Le gouvernement du Roi a reçu des nouvelles de Rome. La négotiation dont il avait chargé M. Rossi a attteint son but. La Congrégation des Jésuites cessera d'exister en France et va

Messager des Chambres, 5 Juillet, 1845 *Journal des Débats,* 6 Juillet, 1845

[8] "When you have behind you, among the great statesmen of past time Henri IV, and among the kings of today the wise and enlightened Leopold, when you have behind you, in the spiritual world, the sovereign authority of the church, you can await with confidence the judgment of posterity and console yourself for having been denounced by the Ministry of the first of March and betrayed by the Cabinet of October 29 to passions far less powerful and less furious against religion than against order, the throne and society as a whole." (Quoted in *l'Univers,* 12 Juin 1845.)

[9] "M. de Montalembert a été plus heureux dans ses attaques contre M. Martin (du Nord). Il a mis dans tout son jour la conduite équivoque et incertaine du gouvernement, tiraillé sans cesse entre la crainte du clergé et la peur de la chambre, et le ridicule d'une mission diplomatique avortie avant même d'être commencée." *Constitutionnel,* 12 Juin 1845.

se disperser d'elle-même; ses maisons seront fermeés et ses noviciats dissous."

Thus the French government proclaimed itself victorious without a scrap of paper except the letters of Rossi to prove their victory.[10]

For a moment the "Neo-Catholics" who had taken up the cause of the Jesuits, believed themselves lost. They were even astonished at what appeared to be the action of the Vatican, for they had received the impression from their correspondent at Rome that the entire affair was going in the opposite direction and that Rossi was failing in his mission.[11] Furthermore, the opposition had shared in the impression of the "Neo-Catholics" and even after July 6 were not inclined to credit the official note of the government inserted in the *Moniteur*.[12] In this, the opponents of the government displayed extraordinary clear-sightedness. The sorrow of the "Neo-Catholics" was not to be of long duration, the doubts of the opposition were soon to be confirmed. For on the 7th of July the following editorial appeared in one of the morning papers:

National, 7 Juillet, 1845

"Letters from Rome dated the 28th and 29th of May have reached us. They contradict the notice inserted yesterday in the *Messager* and this morning in the *Moniteur.* This notice is based on a scandalous equivocation. Concessions were made, it is true, but not at all of the nature intimated by the official announcement. It is of prime importance to note that these concessions do not emanate from the venerable authority which they had wished to identify with M. Guizot's policy. In brief, the honour and right of the Holy See are safe, and

Quotidienne, 7 Juillet, 1845

[10] I have been unable to find any other official documents on this subject except the notes of Rossi to Guizot.

[11] v. *l'Univers,* 1 Juillet 1845. When the official announcement appeared, *l'Univers* expressed some surprise and remarked. "Cette nouvelle qu'aucune lèttre de Rome nous avait laissé prévoir, brise nos coeurs, rein ne peut ébranler notre foi; si Rome l'ordonne, les Jésuites se soumettront. L'Eglise de France luttera sans eux comme elle a lutté pour eux. Leur départ n'enlève rien à ses droits, il ajoute à ses devoirs." *L'Univers,* 6 Juillet 1845.

v. *Constitutionnel,* 6 Juillet, 1845

[12] "Il reste toujours à demander compte au ministère en supposant que cette nouvelle se vérifie, de la dignitê nationale dans une négociation pareille." *La Reforme,* 6 Juillet 1845.

the plot framed by the government will result to its own shame and to its own detriment."

It was, as this paper had declared, and as the "Neo-Catholics" themselves soon perceived,[13] an utter deception on the part of the government. There are four witnesses substantiating this opinion; two official letters from the General of the Company of Jesus to the provincial in France, a letter of Rossi to Guizot, a letter of the Papal Secretary to the Apostolic Legate in Paris, and finally the subsequent actions of the Jesuits themselves, all of whom are bound to obey explicitly the orders of their General. These documents, then, prove two facts, first that the order came from the superior of the Jesuits and not from the Pope as Guizot had desired, and also that the official notice of the government published in the *Moniteur* and *Messager* exaggerated the facts.

On June 14, while the negotiations were still in progress, de Roothan had written a letter to de Ravignan, the provincial, and in this letter he remarks:

14 Juin, 1845 Pontlevoy, I, 349

"It is hard for me to give such an order, but I believe it is my duty to advise this measure of prudence. I hope it will be done quietly, and as I have told you, without any show; this is much better from every point of view than if it should take place later with trouble and tumult."

From this letter, then, it may be assumed that it was Roothan who gave the orders and not the Pope. On the 21st of January he wrote another letter to de Ravignan directing him to dissolve entirely or in part according to his better judgment, three houses, the establishment at Saint-Acheul and several novitiates. He adds:

21 Juin, Pontlevoy,

"Nous devons tâcher de nous effacer un peu, et expier ainsi la trop grande confiance que nous avons eue dans la charte et qui ne se trouve que là."

[13] "La note publiée par le *Messager,* a pu, grâce a l'ambiguité de sa rédaction, faire croire des choses qu'elle ne dit pas. Le but de M Rossi a été atteint en ce sens que les Jésuites français peuvent, sur l'avis de leur général, renoncer à l'usage d'une partie de leur droits de citoyens ne pas plaider, se disperser même, il n'importe, mais le ministre semblait annoncer une inter-vention du Saint Siège; tout le monde y a été trompé, et nous l'avons cru nous-mêmes." *L'Univers,* 8 Juillet 1845.

There is only one possible letter from Rossi on which the official notice of July 5th and 6th could have been modeled, and then only by an inexact interpretation:

"The purpose of our negotiation has been reached. . . . The Congregation will disperse of its own accord, the novitiates will be dissolved, and only those ecclesiastics necessary to take care of their property will remain, while they, in turn, will live as ordinary priests."

Rossi to Guizot, 23 Juin, 1845

A comparison will show that the official note inserted in the *Moniteur* and *Messager* does not correspond exactly with the letter quoted.

The third corroboration is still more definite, the letter of the Papal Secretary to the Legate at Paris.

"Now as far as the question of what steps to take is concerned, I tell you that there never was any intention that the Jesuits should close their houses or that their property should be confiscated. After reading the Ministerial note (inserted in the papers) I protested to M. Rossi and he declared most emphatically that he had not written it. Furthermore, people who ought to know declared that M. Rossi has informed indirectly the Rev. Fr. General of the Jesuits that he ought not to interpret the words literally.

4 Août, 1845 Pontlevoy, I, 324-5

Your Excellency may, therefore, tell the Jesuits in the guise of advice, to adhere strictly to whatever their Fr. General tells them to do, but they are by no means obliged to exceed the instructions of their superior."[14]

By far the most convincing evidence of the real understanding between Rome and the July Monarchy, however, is found in the subsequent actions of the Jesuits. Three houses at Paris, Lyons and Avignon, were closed. Two novitiate houses were abandoned—one at Saint-Acheul, the other at Laval. This action corresponds exactly with the instructions issued to the provincial, and as the government did not publicly accuse the Jesuits of failing to fulfill the whole of their contract, it seems that these injunctions must have been the sole and

[14] Debidour E et E 69. Quotes a letter from Rozaven to Ravignan dated June 25, 1845, in which the above statement are confirmed. I have not, however, been able to find any trace or mention of this letter elsewhere, so refrain from using it.

only agreement made between Guizot and the Jesuits through Rossi, not an agreement with Gregory XVI personally.

The question of the understanding between these two courts settled, another query arises. Why had Rome advised the Jesuits to yield at all? This time the cause lay not so much in foreign influence as in the unsettled condition of the Italian clergy. The aged Pope was failing, and at the very moment of Thiers' interpollation the ideas of the "New Guelf" were becoming dominant. Led by such men as Gioberti and Cesare Balbo they sought to place a "Lamennasian Pope" in St. Peter's chair. This new party did not favour the Jesuits and their theories; they were also the enemies of all despotic and semi-despotic governments, and so they opposed Austria and France. Their influence is said to have been exerted against both Guizot's policy and the Jesuit order. So much for a possible explanation of Rome's action.

Wm. Barry, 266-227

How, then, had Guizot fared in France after the Jesuit fiasco? Among the people there was general dissatisfaction, and out of this unhappy condition appeared the first sign of a rapprochement of the "Neo-Catholics" and the Moderate Republicans; both demanded an explanation in the Chamber of Peers. It remained for Guizot to defend a defenceless policy. On the 15th of July Guizot pleaded his cause, maintaining that his policy had been the wisest and most prudent in extremely delicate circumstances. Montalembert contradicted him in no dubious terms and tore aside the veil with which Guizot had attempted to hide the real import of the affair. He again established the original bases of the struggle.[15] Thus in the middle of the year 1845 the Premier found himself confronted with the same question he had tried so hard

W. R. Thayer, I, p. 434

Thureau Dangin, Hist., VII, 35

[15] "J'ai besoin à vous dire que toute la question n'est pas là, qu'il y a dans les lettres, qui ont été portées si souvent à cette tribune et ailleurs, depuis quelques années, tout autre chose que la question des Jésuites. Lorsque M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères disait tout à l'heure que maintenant le clergé ne courait plus risque de prendre la question des Jésuites pour la sienne, il a oublié que le clergé avait deja sa question, et non seulement le clergé mais encore tous les catholiques, tous les hommes religieux de France étaient occupés d'une question qui survivra à celle des Jesuits, comme elle l'a précédée, c'est à dire la question de la liberté religieuse et de la liberté de l'enseignement." Montalembert's words, 15 July, *L'Univers,* 16 Juillet 1845.

to avoid and had attempted to divert into another channel. He was indeed in an embarrassing position; other questions, of an economic nature were pressing, and to avoid these he could not yet settle the matter nor discontinue the fight. The question, then, returned to its old basis. The "Neo-Catholics" resumed their former activities and the Committee for the Defense of Religious Liberty was enlarged. Montalembert remained, of course, the President, while M. Vatesminel, minister of Public Instruction under Charles X, was elected vice-president and M. Henri de Riancey secretary. The Committee now counted among its members such men as the Marquis de Barthélemy, Amedée Thayer and M. Clappier; these names are significant as they were all members of the Chambers. In August Montalembert issued his famous charge to the electors of France and the opposition replied by an attempt to prove the action of the Committee seditious. But, this effort met with little success.[16] It is interesting to note in passing, that at this time the "Neo-Catholics" were confronted with an enemy long recognized as such, but heretofore silent. These were the old Gallicans under the leadership of *Ami de la Religion et du roi* who seemed to regret the fame and honour gained by their more progressive brothers in the Faith, and condoned the activity of the Committee. Among their own number, too, the "Neo-Catholics" began to find some who believed that the new school had fought hard and long enough. One of this number was Frederic Ozanam, while still another was Mgr. Dupanloup of Orleans, who, at this time, published his book "De la Pacification Religieuse." Both of these men found their group of sympathizers. But, to have given up now, would have been to lose the struggle at the very moment when they were nearest their goal, and, happily, Montalembert and his party realized this fact. Never-

v. *l'Ami de la Religion et du Roi*, 6 Août, 1845

v. Ozanam, Corresp., II, 83

[16] "On sait ce que les *Neo-Catholiques* entendent par la liberté religieuse c'est particulièrement, en attendant mieux la destruction de l'Université, qu'ils apellent le monopole, l'accroissement des privileges dont jouissent deja les petits seminaires, la multiplication indefinie des colléges ecclésiastiques jouissant d'une liberté sans autre limite que celle qui peut venir la police correctionnelle, c'est ainsi l'abolition des articles du concordat qu'empêchent que l'Eglise devienne un Etat dans l'Etat." *Constitutionnel*, 5 Août 1845.

theless a sort of truce did ensue for the rest of the year. In this brief interval several important changes occurred, Louis Veuillot retired from *l'Univers* and was succeeded by de Coux whose name had frequently appeared in the early columns of *l'Avenir*. The government, too seemed desirous of peace, and as if to prove the sincerity of their desire, Salvandy suspended Quinet's course at the Collège de France. Montalembert's party, however, could not long remain inactive, and at the end of a year they were arranging their cohorts for a final struggle. At the closing of the Chambers their leader declared: "We await you next year on the same ground."[17]

The year 1846, however, witnessed a renewal of the controversy, and many of those who had declared for peace re-entered the field. It was a significant year for the nation and for the "Neo-Catholics" as well; France broke with England and by that act definitely asserted her return to the principles of Metternich and the Holy Alliance, while the "Neo-Catholics" won the last step in their triumphant progress, a step which, in fact, predicted and assured the victory. The prize was won in 1846, but for the reward they had to wait till the beginning of 1850, when the prize was presented to them by the leader of their opponents.

Courier Français, 2 Février, 1846

From December of the preceding year Montalembert's party had seen that they would be called on to the field of political controversy at an early date. In that month Salvandy had proposed his law calling for a reorganization of the "Conseil Royal" of the University. Here, some thought, was a definite overture on the part of the government. Would Guizot come over to them after all? Certainly, for a time, it did seem possible that an alliance might spring up between the two. Early in January Salvandy's law came before the Chambers for discussion. It proposed to substitute for the "Conseil Royal" a University Council of thirty members, twenty of whom should be appointed each year. On this Guizot and Thiers again found themselves face to face and if the former could have gained the support of the "Neo-

v. Speech of Montalembert, *Moniteur*, 10 Janv., 1846

[17] Montalembert, closing session 1845. Quoted Mrs. Oliphant. "Montalembert," II. 89.

Catholics" he might have succeeded in permanently silencing his rival. But the law was not acceptable to Montalembert and his colleagues because their party would not have any guarantees for representation, and Guizot was again discomfited. The opposition took heart and their newspapers even went so far as to declare the University's position secure and impregnable:

"The fact is that the blow aimed at the old "Conseil Royal" is only one episode in the great debate raging for two years between secular and ecclesiastical power, between the University and the clergy. Perhaps the time has not yet come to settle this important question. The Chamber, wishing to reserve to itself the sole right of decision, is studying the question and hesitates to announce any decision."

Journal des Debats, 31 Janv., 1846

The Journal des Débats and the Universitaires were bitterly deceived! Three weeks later the Chamber of Deputies, led by Berryer, announced its decision to go still further and help the Church.

It will be remembered that a vote had not even been taken on Thiers' report of Villemain's law, The 21st of February, the opposition, thinking to discountenance Guizot still more, proposed that the discussion and vote on Villemain's law be made the "order of the day." This Guizot, as Premier, refused to allow. It was then that one of the "Neo-Catholics" made a brilliant move taking the Chamber entirely by surprise. He informed Guizot that a refusal to submit the law to discussion and vote, was equal to its withdrawal, and asked him if this implied a promise on the part of the government, of a new law. To the astonishment of everyone present M. Guizot affirmed this statement.[18] This was the "conversa-

Moniteur, 22 Févr., 1846

[18] Berryer: "Mais je viens d'entendre que le projet de la reprise de la loi était une forme de retrait d'une loi que je regarde comme mauvaise; c'est un retrait auquel on veut faire acquiescer la Chambre, par la déliberation de ce moment; et ce n'est pas seulement un retrait, c'est la promesse de nous apporter une loi basée sur des principes et droits de l'Etat en matière de l'enseignement public, d'accomplir la liberté dé conscience et la liberté d'enseignement, le retrait d'une loi qui doit être conçue dans les idées plus génerenses et fondée sur des doctrines plus libérales, me déterminent à participer au rejet de la proposition de reprise."

Guizot replied: "Le projet de loi que la chambre auront à discuter

tion très vive, très piquante" that took place in the Chamber of Deputies. The promise of a law more liberally conceived and more in accordance with the 69th Article of the Charter was, indeed, a cause of encouragement to the "Neo-Catholics." The following day the dissolution of the Chambers was pronounced for July 6th, and new elections were called for August 1st.

v. *l'Univers*, No. 11, 15, Mars, etc., 1846;

Strengthened by this check to the cause of the University, the Committee for the Defense of Religious Liberty set to work to prepare for the coming elections. The columns of *L'Univers* were filled with advice to the Catholic electors and with persuasive arguments for the uncertain. In the midst of all this excitement, however, *L'Univers* did not forget its fellow-sufferers in other lands, and frequently made eloquent appeals for the Poles and the Irish.[19] At the same time that the committee seemed to be gaining the fruits of its labour, the favourable attitude of the government and a shifting of position on the part of the various political parties gave the "Neo-Catholics" cause for hope. A change was apparently coming over the field of political controversy. Thiers' Republicans and some of the Legitimists were coming together. The milder Republicans and Moderate Legitimists, on the other hand, seemed to favour the "Neo-Catholics," while the attitude of the ministry led the few supporters of the government to the side of *L'Univers*. The "Neo-Catholics" position seemed infinitely bettered; already the University seemed defeated.[20] But still another incident gained great numbers

also Montalembert, Devoir des Catholiques dans les prochaines elections

Correspondant, 10 Juillet, 1846

sera en harmonie avec ces idées; il se proposera de maintenir les droits de l'Etat en matière de l'enseignement public, d'accomplir les promesse de la charte en matière de la liberté de l'enseignement, et de constituer le gouvernement suprême de l'instruction publique, de telle sorte qu'il reponde à ces deux buts." *L'Univers*, 22 Févr. 1846.

[19] As early as 1830-1834 O'Connell visited them. On his death, funeral services were held for him all over France. Lacordaire pronounced his funeral oration at Notre Dâme in the presence of many of the high officials—ecclesiastical and secular—of the realm.

[20] "Aujour dhui, les répugnances qu'ils soulevaient naguère se sont en grande partie calmée; demain l'opinion publique plus eclaircie, se prononcera en faveur de la liberté religieuse et de la liberté d'enseignement." *Courrier Français*, 22 Juillet 1846.

for the government and Montalembert's party as well; on the 30th day of August, forty-eight hours before the vote, another attempt was made on the life of the king. The result was a frightened reversal of opinion favoring a conservative policy. Louis Philippe assassinated, a Regency and a liberal majority, what might France become! The bourgeois shuddered at the thought; as a result, Guizot and Montalembert came out of the elections stronger than ever. For the "Neo-Catholics" it was indeed a "true and legitimate success." Of the 226 candidates avowedly for religious liberty, 146 were elected. A new era seemed to be opening for the "Neo-Catholics"; soon they would not have to fight their battles alone. The government strengthened by the elections might come to their assistance; if not, they were now a considerable body, their numbers and their influence would cause them to be reckoned with, they could find support elsewhere. After sixteen years of struggle the "Neo-Catholics" were at last an "embarras parlementaire." They had finally gained the position their leader had told them they must attain; now they would not be deceived in their prophecies.

v. Henri de Riancey. "Compte Render des Elections" de 1846

One of the most significant phases of the elections had been the arrival on the scene of M. de Falloux, the author of Law Falloux (1850). Still another important incident was the change in the personnel and attitude of the Papacy. Gregory XVI had died, and Pius IX "Gioberti's Pope" was elected. For two years Rome enjoyed a policy of Liberalism. For the "Neo-Catholics" this change in papal policy meant much; it did indeed seem as if the fulfilment of their wishes was near at hand.[21] An "embarras parlementaire," a liberal Pope was in the throne—so great was their gain that even when he had gone over to the reactionaires they were able to hold fast to the new position attained in the political world.

A really astounding state of affairs followed after the elections,—a period of agreement between King, Pope and the "Neo-Catholics." The chambers even flattered the new Pontif.[22] The government and *L'Univers* were at one in

[21] "Nul Pape n'a plus fait que Pius IX pour que l'unit catholique devint une vivante et puissante réalité." Spüller Evolution Politique de l'Eglise, ch. XV.

[22] v. *La Patrie,* 20 Juin 1846. *l'Univers,* 21 Juin 1846. *Moniteur*

regard to the policy of breaking the English Alliance and the steps to be taken concerning Switzerland, and finally, it was announced that the law promised in 1846 would soon appear. A year later Salvandy proposed his law. While it upheld in principle the right of families, it still maintained the requirement of a University certificate of ability, for all instructors and professors. It was verbose and deceiving. The only concession the "Neo-Catholics" had obtained from the government was the omission of the clause prohibiting orders from teaching. The "Neo-Catholics" were furious, and justly so, at the government; they felt they had again been betrayed, but the government could do no more, it was already in its death throes. Disgusted, the Church party turned to its new allies, the Moderate Republicans.[23] The Teste scandal and the suppression of the Chapter of St. Denis sealed this alliance: Guizot had lost them forever.[24] Still others joined them when the government became embroiled in the affair of the Baptists, and even their old enemy *l'Ami de la Religion et du roi* rapidly cast aside the barriers between them and finally lent its voice to the "Neo-Catholics'" demand for the liberties of Italy, Poland and Ireland.[25] The threats made against the church at the Reform Banquets only tended to heighten their mutual hatred of a government that did not dare to put down "the turn-coat liberals."[26] The February days came and the Revolution followed. In that troublesome time Frenchmen found that one institution alone remained stable and they fled to it in utter despair. The church was no longer despised.

A Republic was established, with Louis Napoleon as President. Meanwhile Montalembert had found a confrère in arms—the abbé Dupanloup, whose entrance into the field of political controversy had been prepared by his book "De la Pacification Religieuse" written four years before. As soon

Janv. 1848. *l'Univers,* v. nos. 4-9, Sept. 9 et 1846, 2 Juil, 13, Oct. 10 and 14, Nov. 1847, 15 Janv. 1848.

[23] v. Thiers et loi Falloux, L. Barthou 8. v. *l'Univers,* 15 Avril 1849.

[24] v. Debidour "E et E" 447-8. v. *l'Univers,* 15 Avril 1847.

These three cases all concerned the question of religious liberty and were decided by the government in a spirit contrary to the wishes of the Liberal Catholics.

[25] v. *Ami de la Religion et du roi,* 9 Oct. 1847.

[26] v. ibid, No. 13, Dec. 1847.

as the affairs of the Second Republic were settled, Montalembert, Thiers and Cousin were set to work on a law for the liberty of public instruction. This was a strange partnership. Thiers said he had been converted to the cause by the social revolution,[27] while Cousin had renounced the greater part of his philosophy. Early in the year 1850 the famous "loi Falloux" was proposed.[28] The debate opened in the "Chambre Constituante" on the fourteenth of January. In the meantime many events had made the government favorable to the law; a large number of the clergy had joined the Moderate Republican party and were become its backbone, and Louis Napoleon, too, needed the support of the church. The June Days had clearly shown him this fact, and his expedition to Rome had been but a prelude to what the government was to grant. Beugnot reported the law, Thiers and Montalembert defended it,[29] but it was not without a hard fight that the proposed law was finally passed (March 15, 1850.) The "Monopole Universitaire" was destroyed; a "letter of obedience" from the bishops was to take the place of a "brevet de capacité" from the University, for those instructors who belonged to religious orders. Entire freedom was allowed to private instruction. The only thing required was a formal certificate of morality and ability. The Council of the University was replaced by a "Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique" composed of clergy, magistrates and representatives from private institutions. In brief, the clergy gained a double advantage in that they obtained not only the right to establish their own independent institutions, but

[27] Quant à la liberté d' enseignement, je suis changé. Je le suis non par une révolution dans mes convictions mais par une révolution dans l'état social. Je porte ma haine et ma chaleur là où aujourd'hui est l'ennemi. Cet enemmi c'est la démagogie, et je ne lui livrerai pas le dernier débris de l'ordre social, c'est à dire l'établissement catholique." Thiers to de Montjau *Ami de la Religion et du roi,* 18 Juin 1848.

[28] "La loi Falloux, comme on l'appelle, pourrait s'appeler aussi la loi Thiers." Henri de Lacombe Proces verbaux de la commission de la loi Falloux.

[29] For the relationship of Thiers and Montalembert, v. Lecaunet—"Montalembert" II, 390-5.

Debidour, 510

also the right of sharing in the directing of the instruction given in the public schools.

The fundamental cause of this striking victory, gained by the "Neo-Catholics" in 1850 after their long struggle under Louis Philippe, is found in the opening lines of an early prophecy made by Montalembert, a prophecy that seemed, for the moment, to have been fulfilled: "Dans un temps où nul ne sait que faire de sa vie, où nulle cause ne réclame ni mérite ce devouement qui retombaient naguère comme un poids écrasant sur nos coeurs vides, nous avons enfin trouvé une cause qui ne vit que de devouement et de foi. Quand notre poussière sera mêleé â celle de nos pères, le monde adorera ce que nous portons déjà avec amour dans nos âmes, devant cette beauté qui a tout le prestige de l'antiquité et tout le charme de la jeunesse, cette puissance qui après avoir fondé le passé de l'homme, fécondera tous les siècles futurs, cette consolation qui peut seule réconcilier l'homme à la vie, la terre au ciel, cette double et sublime destinée; le monde régéneré par Dieu."

l'Avenir, 6 Mars, 1831

The very heart of La Mennais is found in this eloquent prophecy uttered by his disciple, but in 1850 the prophecy was only half fulfilled. The Neo-Catholics had fought a good fight and had won. Here was the golden opportunity for which they had so valiantly struggled. Although the moment was at hand, the opportunity seized and measures set in operation to begin their noble work unhindered now by a vacillating government, or by a Voltarian opposition, nevertheless they failed. And why? Because at the very moment of reward, the church suddenly again dominated by an over-ambitious faction, allied itself with the temporal power, and the results were not the happy ones foreseen by the men who had brought her this rich gift. In view of the final outcome, it is hard to avoid the final conclusion that to many who supported it, the "loi Falloux" was only a step toward the "Coup d'État," but there is no evidence that the "Young Catholics," now veterans in the Chamber, were aware of this at the time.

The vision of Montalembert fades, but not forever. It has never entirely disappeared. From time to time there have been moments when an opening in the dark cloud hanging

over Christianity in the Nineteenth Century has shown that there is still the spirit there, that it has not died out. Such examples are found in the subsequent history of the Church in France, the later life of Mgr. Affre, for instance. This gives to many the hope that it may some day appear in all the beauty in which it was first conceived by the now forgotten and disowned La Mennais, by the young knight of the Chamber of Peers, and by the saintly Frederic Ozanam. May it stand forth in all the sublimity of its first birth, free from political taint, pure, solemn, obedient and commanding. Only then will the prophecy of Montalembert come true.

Little now remains to be done except to follow the other institution to its end. One attained its victory, the other was to fail.

The year 1845 was an important epoch for the July Monarchy in that it saw a great change come over the surface of affairs in France. It witnessed the resignation of Thiers from Guizot's ministry, and the beginnings of the controversy incident to the break up of the English alliance—a controversy of which the differences over Tahiti and Morocco were a premonition. These episodes were indications of the intention of France to continue her former colonial policy in the Pacific and Mediterranean. In this one respect she remained consistent; in all others she was uncertain and at times contradictory. Thiers, then, weary of Guizot's policy of following the King's dictation and seeing an opportunity to become the leader of both oppositions in the Chamber of Deputies, by means of the question about public instruction, resigned, and became known as the leader of the Parliamentary Republicans and the "Universitaires." At the time of his resignation the Republicans too, had experienced a change, otherwise, it is probable that Thiers never could have become the chief of a particular faction of the Republican party. A division had taken place in its ranks, and it was separated into two groups; the one holding that a mere change to a Republican form of government was all that was necessary, the other believing that a social reform was the only solution of the problem. But this difference

in opinion was not confined to the members of the Chambers, it had spread to the Republican electorate as well, and, furthermore, was beginning to be felt in the other parties. For example, there was no longer one solid Legitimist Party, there were now Extreme and Moderate Legitimists. Thus redivided the aspect of French politics becomes, from the point of view of parties, more complicated; the Moderate and Extreme Republicans, the Moderate and Extreme Legitimists, the Socialists and the Government's party, a small and almost insignificant group of former "doctrinaires." This period of political transition or redivision is further marked by three publications which had a considerable effect on the reading public: Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins," a panegyric of the Revolution; La Mennais' "Livre du Peuple" a religious glorification of Socialism; and Eugene Sue's "Mystères de Paris," an hysterical exposition of the existing social conditions and a condemnation of the existing social system.

Despite this change in the field of politics, however, the real leaders were few in number and remained the same. As in 1840, they were Thiers and Guizot: "il n'y a plus que deux possibilités politiques, vous ou moi," the latter is said to have remarked to Thiers. The rivalry then, still continued, the one always seeking to contradict the other. Thiers or Guizot? That became the entire political question in the last three years of Louis Philippe's reign. For the rest of the year, while Thiers was occupied in attacking the ministry's system of parliamentary corruption, and preparing as a remedy to the "pays légal" a plan of electoral reform, Guizot was making promises to the Catholics, showing himself favorable to their cause in all its phases and seeking to join their cause to his own in the forthcoming elections. So much for the internal political occupations of France; in the field of external politics there was much less petty policy, the break in the English Alliance was approaching.

Quoted Bourgeois, III, 262

The first sign of this change is found in the visit of the Emperor Nicholas to England the latter part of the year 1844. The two countries, England and Russia, after all, had

Justin McCarthy, Hist., I, 443

much in common. In the first place two were far better than three in the East. Russia could not be dislodged, and it became a question of England or France. Here was England's opportunity to assure her eastern policy. For the English the situation seemed to resolve itself into a choice between the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British Empire. Allied with France, England would never have become an Empire. This was the first and greatest reason for the break. The other two causes are not of such importance; the one was a matter of sympathy, the religious policy of England in Ireland and of Russia in Poland was somewhat similar, while the other was a question of commercial rivalry between France and England. For France, on the other hand, there were three forces at work to break the alliance. The one, as has been noted, was economic, but as the existing government seemed to hold such matters in low esteem it was not, though it should have been, of the greatest importance. The two prime factors for France, then, were the "Neo-Catholics" and the influence of Metternich.

Walpole, V, 353

v. *l'Univers*, 30 Oct., 1844

The "Neo-Catholics" favoured a break with England from principle rather than from policy, though they did admit, as we have seen, the commercial disadvantages of the entente. But in their eyes the most important reasons were two in number, England was Protestant, and the English government had opposed the "martyred" O'Connell. And, as the French ministry and government approached nearer and nearer the "Neo-Catholics," for the elections were not now far off, their policy must needs have conformed at least temporarily to the desires of their new ally.

v. *ibid.* also 2, 8 Janv., 1845

The most potent influence, however, was that of Metternich. France under Louis Philippe became at this time the dupe of Metternich. The wily diplomat tempted the king with the prospect of restoring the ancient dynastic glories of the Bourbans if the King of the July Monarchy would but conform to the principles of the Holy Alliance. He desired to transform "cette détestable boutique," as he is said to have called the July Government. His method was most

d'Haussonville, Hist., Dipl. T.

Debidour, *Études* Critiques, 348

Bourgeois, III, 355-6

Jesuitical. Ever so slowly Metternich had won Louis Philippe from the British Alliance—at first by the Mehemet-Ali episode, then by the right of search controversy, later by the policy in Tahiti and Morocco, and again by the "affaire Pritchard." But, above all, the advice of Metternich to obliterate his revolutionary origin by a reversion to a far too old tradition of dynastic glory was what appealed most to the mind of the old king, and this, he saw, could only be accomplished by a rupture with England. Both governments, then awaited the opportunity to break the bonds of the Quadruple Alliance. In 1845, the occasion presented itself in the Spanish Marriage controversy. Isabella of Spain and her sister, the Infanta Louisa Fernanda were both unmarried. As early as 1841 it had been agreed by England and France that Louis Philippe's son should marry the Infanta Louisa, but not until the Queen of Spain had found and married a husband. Suddenly in 1846, the French Ambassador suggested to Queen Isabella's mother Maria Christina, that the duc de Montpensier be married to the Infanta at the same time that the Queen's nuptials were celebrated, and he suggested as a likely candidate for the Queen's hand, Don Francisco of Assis, duc de Cadiz, who was known to be physically unfit for marriage. England at once protested, and this protest was rendered all the more significant by the return of Palmerston, the friend of Thiers, to power. He did not have, of course, the slightest sympathy with the policy of Guizot. England then proceeded to nominate a Coburg. To this Guizot objected on the ground that it was contrary to the agreement of 1841. It is interesting to note that the French themselves do not seem to have favoured this policy. Some feared the second isolation of France from a European Concert, and others the responsibilities such a marriage would impose upon the country. In spite of the prevailing public opinions both in France and England, however, Louis Philippe continued his course, and on the tenth of October 1846, the marriages were solemnized. England was deeply hurt and cordial relations between the two countries were suspended, England claiming that Louis Philippe had been guided simply by

v. Letter of Louis Philippe to the Queen of the Belgians, 14 Sept., 1846

Revue Retro., No. 22

dynastic ambitions.[31] [32] [33] The entire affair seems to have been carried on from a selfish point of view and without any inquiries as to the wishes and desires of the British and

[31] The following letters furnish interesting comments on the break: "a S. M. La Reine de la Grande Bretagne, 8 Sept. 1846. Madame: Confiante de cette amitié dont V. M. a donné tant de preuves, et dans l'aimable intérêt que vous avez toujours témoigné à tous nos enfants; je m'empresse de vous annoncer le mariage de notre fils Montpensier avec l'Infante Louise-Fernande, Cet événement de famille nous comble de joie, parce que j'espère qu'il assure le bonheur de notre fils chéri et que nous retrouverons dans l'Infante une nouvelle fille aussi bonne, aussi aimable que ses ainées, et qui ajoutera à notre bonheur intérieure, le seul vrai de ce monde, et que vous même savez si bien apprécier. Je vais demander d'avance votre amitié pour notre nouvelle enfant, sûre qu'elle partagera tous les sentiments de dévouement et d'affection de nous tous pour vous, pour le prince Albert et pour toute votre chère famille. Je suis, Madame, de V. M. la toute dévoueé soeur et amie. Marie Amélie.

a. s. M. la Reine des François, Osborn, 10 Sept. 1846.

Madame: Je viens de recevoir la lettre de V. M. du 8 de ce mois, et m'empresse de vous en remercier. Vous vous souviendriez peutêtre de ce qui s'est passé a Eu entre le roi et moi. Vous connaissez l'importance que j'ai toujours attaché au maintien de notre entente cordiale et las zèle avec laquelle jy ai travaillé; vous avez apris sans doute que nous nous sommes refusée d'arranger le mariage entre la reine de Espagne et notre cousin Leopold que les deux reines avaient desiré vivement, dans le seul but de ne pas nous éloigner d'une marche qui serait plus agréable au roi, quoique nous ne pouvons considérer cette marche comme la meilleure. Vous pouvez donc aisément comprendre que l'annonce de ces doubles mariages ne pouvait nous causer que de la surprise et un bien vif regret. Je vous demande pardon, Madame de vous parler de la politique à ce moment, mais j'aime pouvoir me dire que j'ai toujours été sincère avec vous. Je vous prie, etc. Victoria R.

Revue Retrospective—No. 8.

[32] v. Aberdeen's letter to Guizot Sept. 14, 1846, in which he tells of the general regret in England. Rev. Retros. No. 20.

[33] "Le duc de Cadiz ne donne aucun appui au governement espagnol: Non seulement ceux qui paraissaient le preferer sont peu redoubtables, mais encore ils ne le suivront point. Les partisans du Comte de Montemoulin seraient devenus, au contraire, les défensers les plus zélés, et les plus surs du trône d'Isabelle. . . . Dans ces conditions nous ne pouvons applaudir au mariaige du duc de Montpensier avec l'Infanta dona Louisa." *l'Univers,* 14 Sept. 1846. v. also *Journal des Debats,* 16 Oct. 1846. *Constitutionnel,* 15 Sept. 1846.

French people. The general opinion in France was one of disgust and keen anxiety for the future. The Spanish marriages would prove a heavy burden. The Opposition did not hesitate to voice their protest in the Chambers. In another country, however, there was joy: Metternich's point had been gained, the transformation of the July Monarchy was completed.

The result of this policy for Louis Philippe and his dynasty is important. The last of the original bases on which the monarchy had been founded, and on which alone the bourgeoisie had guaranteed its existence, had been knocked from under it. Louis Philippe had now accepted the principles of the Holy Alliance, the monarchy had no longer a "raison d'être." Placed between two fires, the old School and the Revolution, embodied in the Radicals, what could the July Monarchy do but turn to the old? Louis Philippe had been the dupe, he now became the accomplice of Metternich. "Contradictions destroy themselves," cried one politician. Before, the king had sacrificed everything for the English Alliance, now he had thrown that alliance over; what remained?

v. Chap. I

Le Goff, 116 et seq

l'Univers, 11 Nov., 1846

The government, though temporarily strengthened by the elections of 1846, compromised this newly gained force by a foreign policy absolutely contrary to the wishes of many of the people. Within its borders there was a financial crisis and a terrific upheaval in the business world, while outside of France another revolution occurred. The ministry sought to appease the one by a foolish and heavy system of taxation,[34] while for the other, it sided with Metternich. Civil War had broken out in Switzerland. Its cause was religious, it was almost a repetition of the Reformation except that it lacked the character of a "Pope at Geneva." The country desired and finally demanded that troops be sent to protect the borders. All were unanimous in this request, but some, for example the "Neo Catholics," for an entirely different reason. They desired the protection of the Jesuits to whom many had ascribed the blame of the rebellion. An army was sent to the borders and then its purpose was declared. It was to

v. *Constitutionnel*, Nos. Dec., 1847

National, Dec., 1847

l'Univers, 14 Nov, 10 Dec., 1847

Ami de la Rel. et du roi, 15 Janv., 1848, 19 Fev., 1848

P. B. St. John, p. 10

[34] The cinq per cent affair. v. Rev. Retros. Nos. 18-22.

protect Jesuits! The cause of this policy is clear: France internally was in a terrible condition, economic crises had made the people call all the louder for electoral reform in order to correct the abuses of the government. In France, then, the government had need of support, and in acting in Switzerland as they did they were but trying to win the good graces of the new party so recently become an "embarras parlementaire"—and also the remaining Conservatives who had joined the "Neo-Catholics" and who still believed in the Monarchical Principle. This internal support, in turn, was not sufficient; they needed the aid of the Powers as well. Louis Philippe had already bent to the Holy Alliance, what better support could he have than those very monarchs who had restored his cousin to the throne? And so it was that sacrificing Poland, forgetting a liberal Pope, and his liberal supporters in Italy, the government joined in the support of the Jesuits. Thiers and the Republicans made a violent protest; all of France applauded them. The Reform Banquets became more popular; Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin no longer bridled their tongues when proposing a "toast." A mammoth banquet was arranged for the 23rd of February. This date was the occasion for the overthrow of Louis Philippe "À bas Guizot"—"à bas le roi des barricades," the people cried. Nothing was simpler—the July Monarchy had lost all raison d'être; on the 24th of February it had passed into the pages of history.

Debidour Études Critiques, p. 351

It was a year of Revolutions. Early in the month, Italy again shook off temporarily the Austrian yoke, and a few weeks later the old régime at Vienna was forcibly discarded, never to return.[35]

It is one of the easiest tasks in the world to name and present a long list of reasons for the failure of an institution or the fall of a dynasty; it is not always so simple a matter

[35] One author has remarked: "Ainsi par une conséquence fatale de leur alliance se trouvaient emporteés dans une même disgrace, le roi des barricades et le champion des trônes légitimes. L'un après avoir feint de servir la Révolution, s'etait ouvertement retourné contre elle, l'autre l'avait méconnue toute sa vie. Unis pour la combattré et n'ayant pas vaincu, il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils avaient succombé ensemble." Debidour, "Etudes Critiques," p. 353.

to find the fundamental reasons. But in the case of the July Monarchy the task is not so difficult. One principal reason is found in the Industrial Revolution sweeping over the world; machinery could save men from hard labour, but it could not provide them with other tasks. Its inventors, furthermore, were not lawmakers, and therefore, could not prevent the misfortunes it would temporarily bring. The professional law-makers, on the other hand, were not experienced enough to counteract this harm, while those who had had experience were either silenced by the oversuspicious bourgeoisie or were too blinded by old theories to perceive an entirely new situation manifestly requiring new laws. Still another fundamental cause, closely allied to the economic one, was the transition the "haute bourgeoisie" had undergone. Unsuccessful in the governing of the country, they had returned to their old occupations, but in a different sense, for they were more protected by the government and aided to a considerable extent by the saving invention of machinery. They amassed great fortunes and became a new aristocracy which lacked many of the essential elements of the older, and was characterized by a sort of jealousy which made them ashamed to be governed. The third and last cause is found in the fact that the Monarchy had not lived up to the Charter it had accepted. The Monarchy was one thing, the Charter quite another. It is only necessary to turn back to the opening pages of Chapter I to have this fact clearly illustrated. What promises of the Charter had the July Monarchy fulfilled? It came into life upholding that great but vague moral principle of the Revolution—liberty. This principle it soon discarded. The very Charter, the moral principle, then, abandoned, the bases of its structure removed, it could not possibly have stood longer. It was really wonderful that the July Monarchy endured as long as it did. These, then, are the principal reasons for the fall of the July Monarchy, and of these reasons the first and most important is the misinterpretation of the Charter. The proud and sanctimonious "Doctrinaires" had continuously refused to hear the words of warning given them! Two brief citations from pamphlets written the year after the Revolution of July show more

clearly than anything else could do, the fact that France was in exactly the same position constitutionally in the February Days 1848 as she was in July 1830. They might have served as well for the later period as for the earlier:

"Let us tell all the truth; the revolution of 1830 was not put down in order to overthrow the dynasty and save the Charter, but rather it sprang from an equal desire to overthrow both the charter and the dynasty.

"The dynasty, on the other hand, fell because from 1814 it regarded the charter as a definite and complete treaty of peace when in reality it should only have seen in it the preliminaries of a treaty the conclusion of which common interest rendered necessary."

"Appel à la France, sur les véritables causes de la Rev. de 1830," Vcte de Sulian, 1831

How true this is of Louis Philippe as well, for what other purpose did the Charter ever serve under him than that of a treaty of peace? Its noble promise of liberties and new laws were kept in darkness except at times when a cloud appeared on the political horizon, and then to disperse that cloud, or to gain adherents to counteract the opposition, the charter was brought forth and a new law on a liberty guaranteed therein was promised. The political end gained, if the law appeared at all, it proved a grievous disappointment—witness the struggle of the "Neo-Catholics" for liberty of instruction—how often were they made the dupes of the charter by the false promises and fair words of the government. It was the same with the Press laws and Electoral Reform. The Charter, then, was a mockery, it might as well never have been written. Many Frenchmen of the February Days must have concurred in the words written by one of their fellow-citizens seventeen years earlier:

"Alas, if a constitution on parchment is hard to write, how much more difficult is it to erase—and you call that a guarantee! But when, in accordance with the new ideas, you have separated the king from his people and have attributed to each one his own particular rights, then if a disagreement arises between them as to the exercises of their rights, who will judge the case? Where will you find the supreme authority? In force, evidently, "C'était bien la peine de jurer une charte!"[36]

[36] "Avertissements aux Souverains sur les dangers actuels de l'Europe," Cte de Jouffrey 1831.

Such a criticism is equally applicable to the end of Louis Philippe's reign, and possibly the Liberal Catholic Movement of 1830-1848 is the most striking illustration of this fact, as a brief résumé will show. In the early beginnings the energies of the movement were dispersed in so many directions that its influence was more negative than positive. Still even at that time it was able to gain a tacit victory over the government (the "Ecole Libre" Affair) to strengthen the bond between Belgium and France, and together with the Republicans to form a large enough opposition favoring the Poles, to place Louis Philippe in an embarrassing position vis-a-vis the Tsar. Again, the "Neo-Catholics" were powerful enough to arouse the newspapers of the time and force the French government to join in their opponents' demand for condemnation at Rome. Here their first effort failed. A few years later we find them gathering together their dispersed cohorts, and then fighting with one sole object in view—the liberty of instruction. They were sufficiently powerful to cause the defeat of one law (1841), the withdrawal of another (1844 and 1846), allied with Rome to give the government a moral defeat in the affair of the Jesuits (1845), and then, their strength increased still more, they succeeded in arousing, during a time of profound political apathy, a larger dissenting vote in the Chamber of Peers than had been known for a long time (1844-1845). The year 1846 in turn was to be the test for the "Neo-Catholics"—they were to come before the people—and with the surprising result that over one-half of the candidates avowedly in their favour, were returned. Thus strengthened, they defeated another law, and gained the object for which they had fought, under a Republic. As has been said, it is true, this object was the means to an end, of which the "Neo-Catholics" it seems, were for the most part ignorant. But among the men who presented them with this reward were Thiers and Cousin, their former most bitter enemies. So much for the positive influence that the "Neo-Catholics" exerted under Louis Philippe. Such a career renders them an important factor to the historian of France. But still another and greater influence the church exerted through the prestige

gained for her by the "Neo-Catholics," and this is shown in the subsequent policy of the government after the new party had become more powerful. It is an influence partly negative, partly positive, more subtle, and consequently more difficult to describe. We quote, therefore, as proof of this influence, the existence of which had been frequently alluded to, the words of one who was first their enemy and then their friend, Adolphe Thiers:

"If I were to write the history of this reign, I should divide it into two parts, the first from 1830-1840, the second from 1840 to the Revolution of 1848; and I should say that the first period was characterized by the predominance of the protestant and liberal spirit; that the second was marked by a Catholic influence and that a result which necessarily followed, personal royalty now became more prominent, and there was a tendency to substitute the monarch's will for that of the country.

"This fact showed itself in the marriages of the family, or its attempts at marriages. In the first period, Louis Philippe gave one of his daughters to a protestant prince, Leopold, who after a revolution became King of Belgium; he married the heir presumptive, the Duke of Orleans, to a protestant princess, and he had great hopes of being able to win for his second son, the Duke of Nemours, the hand of the future Queen of England, the Princess Victoria, to whom had been sent the prince's portrait, which she admired too much to please the old King William IV, whose preferences were for a Coburg. The match fell through because of the Duke's unwillingness to change his religion. This all occurred during the epoch of the protestant ministers, Guizot, Gasparin, Hunnaun and others, not to speak of free-thinkers. The Tuileries was hermetically sealed to clerical influences. This lasted so long as there were hopes of the celebration of the English marriage. But, when these fell to the ground, the royal father turned in another direction, and Catholic princesses supplanted protestant princesses. You know all about the affair of the Spanish marriages into which Guizot entered eagerly, and from which he did not escape without tarnishing his glory. I have told you the consequences, ultramontane influences entered the palace, the government had

to compound with Catholicism. This was clearly evident in the case of non-sectarian education. Another consequence still, which I have pointed out to you. So long as the family considered its interests to be on the protestant side, it was more liberal, more faithful to its origin; people governed themselves, and were allowed to govern themselves, but from the moment that Catholicism got the upper hand, the Bourbon came to the surface, the Duke of Orleans was forgotten. They opposed the current so determinedly that it increased by resistance, until one fine day it became a torrent and swept all into the abyss."[37]

In conclusion an explanation is, perhaps, necessary in answer to the question why such a subject has been selected. There is always the reason of interest, but that is only justifiable when substantiated by other reasons less personal and more worthy of consideration. In this instance, however, the reasons seem justifiable and the grounds for this belief are two in number. In the first place while it is an exaggeration to say that religion is the sole key to history, it is a recognized fact, nevertheless, that religion is often one of several necessary keys to the history of a people. For it is frequently, consciously or unconsciously, at the very basis of their thoughts, and unless we know their thoughts and the fundamentals as well, it is difficult to truly explain their actions. This is particularly true of the people of Central Europe where for so many centuries the Church of Rome held a dominating position, and it is still more true of the Latin races. Many historians of today declare that to understand the early history of France, one must have a complete comprehension of the relation of the political and religious world. But, this is equally true of the history of the nineteenth century. Henry IV and the Edict of Nantes are absolutely essential to the understanding of the later Reformation and so also are the Civil Constitution, the various concordats, the religious parties, the "Neo-Catholics," the Law of 1905 for the Nineteenth Century. Church influence

[37] Louis Philippe's reign as seen by Thiers—quoted in Le Goffe—L. A. Thiers p. 52 from the article of one Mrs. Crawford—the Paris correspondant of the London News, in an account of a conversation she had with M. Thiers.

in the France of today is as important as it was in the earlier times. You will find it in the Jesuit Controversy, the Dreyfus Case, and it has been at the basis of the divisions in the Right and Right Center in very recent times. Literature, Art, Religion—all have played and continue to play their part in the history of modern France.

There has been, however, still another reason for selecting this particular period, and while that reason may not appeal to every historian, still it should perhaps be acknowledged. The Reign of Louis Philippe covers one of the brightest and most noble periods in the history of the Modern Roman Catholic Church. And it is of particular interest to recount in a day when, despite the fact that the barriers seem to be falling, Christianity as a whole seems to be lying under a dark and heavy cloud, one of the noblest strifes of a few members of the mother-church. In the twentieth century, it is, here, indifference, that very plague that La Mennais sought to heal; there, it is allied with politics; at another place we find hatred, and at still another, a condition that is still worse—a belief in it as a beautiful institution of the past, a sentimental or worse an aesthetic resort to a fading practice and belief! Surely the period of the "Neo-Catholics" show that, despite the terrible obstacles of the time, Christianity was by no means dead, and only the enthusiasm and firm belief of a small group was needed to fan the dormant flame concealed in the apparent ashes it had left in human hearts. There have been other La Mennais, Montalemberts and Ozanams—they have been in all countries—the "Round Table" in Germany, the Young Liberals in Italy, the despised "Puseyites" in England—all have at different times awakened a Faith that seemed to be sleeping the sleep of the dead. And, if we are to judge from examples in years not so far back, there are and will be others to come who may carry to its last and final fulfillment, after many changes and many struggles the great vision of the "Neo-Catholics."

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The newspapers which form the sources of the greater part of the original material are found, for the most part, in France. The most complete collection of *l'Avenir,* the journal edited by La Mennais, however, is found in the British Museum. A complete collection of *Ami de la Religion et du roi* (the Gallican paper), of *L'Union Catholique* and *L'Univers* both "Neo-Catholics," is preserved in the Library of the "Grand Seminaire" at Blois. In addition many other papers have been employed, selected for the most part, as types of the various political opinions of the time. With this in mind I have employed principally; *Journal des Debats* (Republican), *le Constitutionnel* (Liberal) *le Moniteur* and *le Messager des Chambres* (Government), *le Drapeau Blanc* (Legitimist), *le Globe* (Doctrinaire), *le National* (Republican), *la Presse* (Opposition) and the three religious papers

mentioned above. All but the *l'Avenir, l'Union Catholique,* and *L'Univers* may be found in the Archives of the "Bibliothèque Nationale" and the "Bibliothèque Ste Genevieve" at Paris. These, together with an excellent collection of contemporary pamphlets on the political and religious controversies of the time preserved at the Grand Seminaire, the Bibliothèque de la Archevêché and the Bibliothèque du Château, all in Blois, give a complete and many sided view of the events recounted.

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relates in a sympathetic spirit the "Neo-Catholic Movement," devoting but a very few pages to the antecedent movement in which *l'Avenir* figured. Other important works almost invaluable to the student interested in the history of the church in Europe are Spüller's "Evolution Politique et Sociale de l'Eglise," Nielson's "Geschichte der Papstums im 19 Jahrhunderts" and Gams "Geschichte der Kirche." Among the best biographies the most important and best documented are: Mazade "Thiers-Ciquante Années d'Histoire Contemporaine" de Rémusat "Thiers," de Crozals "Guizot," C. Boutard "La Mennais, Sa vie et ses Oeuvres," a very recent publication (1913) C. Marechal—"La Jeunesse de La Mennais," a valuable and scholarly consideration of the abbe's early years, G. P. G. d'Haussonville,—Lacordaire; Lecaunet-Montalembert, de Meaux Montalembert, C. A. Ozanam,—Vie de Frederic Ozanam, and Pougeois, Life of Piux IX.

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APPENDIX I

ACTE D'UNION

I

La partie spirituelle de la société doit être afranchie complement de l'intervention du Pouvoir politique. En consequence:

1. La liberté de conscience et de culte doit etre entière, de telle sorte que le Pouvoir ne s'immisce en avcune manère et sous aucun pretext, dans l'enseignement, la discipline et les cérémonies d'un culte.

2. La liberté de la presse ne peut être entravée par aucune mesure preventive, sous quelque forme que cette mesure se produise.

3. La liberté d'éducation doit être aussi complète que la liberté des cultes dont elle fait essentiellement partie, et que la liberté de la presse puisqu'elle n'est, comme celle-ci, qu'une forme de liberté meme de l'intelligence, et de la manifestation des opinions.

II

Par cela meme que la partie spirituelle de la Societe doit être affranchise complètement, l'action du pouvoir constitutionel ne peut s'exercer que dans l'ordre des intérêts materiels, et dans cet ordre, nous admettons qu'il faut tendre à un êtat de choses dans lequel toutes les affaires locales seront administrées en commun par ceux qui sont interessés, sous la protection du pouvoir destiné des lois uniquement, qu'elle qu'en soit la forme, à maintenir l'unité politique, l'harmonie entre les diverses administrations, particulieres, à pourvoir aux interets generaux et à la defense exterieure de l'Etat.

III

Et comme la société, dont la justice est la base, ne peut faire des progrès reéls que par un plus grand développement une application plus étendue de la loi de justice et de charité, nous admettons aussi que l'on doit tendre incessament à élever l'intelligence et à améliorer la condition matérielle des classes inférieures, pour les faire participer de plus en plus aux avantages sociaux."

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